

Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium

This book restores the fountains of Roman Byzantium, Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul, reviving the sounds, shapes, smells and sights of past water cultures. Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, is surrounded on three sides by sea, and has no major river to deliver clean, potable water. However, the cultures that thrived in this remarkable waterscape through millennia have developed and sustained diverse water cultures and a water delivery system that has supported countless fountains, some of which survive today. Scholars address the delivery system that conveyed and stored water, and the fountains, large and small, from which it gushed. Papers consider spring water, rainwater and seawater; water suitable for drinking, bathing and baptism; fountains real, imagined and symbolic. Experts in the history of art and culture, archaeology and theology, poetry and prose, offer reflections on water and fountains across two millennia in one location.

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Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium

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Introduction

BROOKE SHILLING AND PAUL STEPHENSON

The papers in this volume were all delivered at a conference held 28 June to 1 July 2012 at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul and the Netherlands Institute in Turkey. The event was conceived and planned by Paul Stephenson and Ingela Nilsson, and sponsored very generously by the Swedish National Bank's Tercentenary Fund. The volume begins, as did the first day of the conference, with Julian Richard's paper on the discovery and recording of *nymphaea* across the Eastern Mediterranean world, and the limitations of scholarship to date. Richard offers an extended reflection on the nature and shortcomings of the study of Roman fountains, beginning in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with etchings, expeditions and grand excavation campaigns in Greece and Asia Minor, notably at Olympia, Corinth and Miletos. It is shown that a distinction was drawn early and has persisted between aqueducts, water pipelines and baths, which have been subjected more frequently to technical studies by archaeologists and engineers, and fountains, which have been considered the preserve of art and architectural historians. As Richard notes, into the 1980s, 'the traditional trilogy – architecture, sculpture, inscriptions – structured the majority of publications,' with efforts directed at description and classification, rather than the explanation and contextualisation of individual structures. In short, fountains were imagined elements in establishing an architectural typology, each imagined at the moment of its construction and denied any historical existence.

Richard highlights, and decries, the fact that too frequently fountains have been treated simply as objects of display, rather than as the end point of the delivery system for water. To that extent, the study of ornate *nymphaea* has been determined by one aspect of their history, and the fame of certain monumental public fountains that became singular landmarks or symbols has exacerbated this tendency. The chapter by Paul Stephenson and Ragnar Hedlund indulges in this tendency, introducing two famous monumental fountains of Rome as comparanda for those established in the city of Constantine, the Septizodium and the Meta Sudans. Although Constantine is known to have restored the Meta Sudans, almost nothing is known for certain about the building or restoration of monumental

waterworks in early fourth-century Constantinople. Fortunately, a clearer picture emerges from archaeology and texts beginning in the middle of the fourth century. Stephenson and Hedlund consider a variety of monumental waterworks, including aqueducts, baths, *nymphaea*, reservoirs, cisterns and fountains. We learn of their maintenance and lack of maintenance by city officials, designated water guards (*hydrophylakes*) in late antiquity, and by their imperial successors, the counts and chamberlains of the middle Byzantine period. Stephenson and Hedlund conclude with a look at surviving fountains, for the most part ancient victory monuments and columns converted into fountains, including the Theodosian Obelisk, the Serpent Column and the Masonry Obelisk in the hippodrome. Before these monuments were erected here, the so-called Baths of Zeuxippos occupied an adjacent site. Stephenson and Hedlund challenge the traditional Severan dating of the bath complex, placing it instead in the later third century.

As Gerda de Kleijn notes in her chapter, despite a recent substantial and substantive monograph on the water supply system of Constantinople, we still know very little about many of its key elements. It seems clear that the system followed that of eastern parts of the empire, employing principally terracotta pipes to distribute water, and that these would have been connected to lead pipes only when a bronze stopcock or turncock was to be installed, to allow the flow of water to be stopped, to change its direction or to create small spouts at a fountain. Lead pipes would be stamped to indicate the grantee and by whose authority the water was granted. However, only a single stamped lead fistula has been discovered in Istanbul, and its inscription, as de Kleijn shows, does not conform to stamps on lead fistulae known from Rome. Given the dearth of direct evidence, de Kleijn offers important comparative material and informed conjecture based on the administration of the water supply system in Rome, before turning to the preserved legislation of Constantinople itself. Clearly, as in Rome, in the late fourth and fifth centuries, the grant of water to a private individual was an imperial prerogative. The size of a grant of water to a private individual was in accordance with his status, the size of his property and the presence of baths. The grant was calculated and recorded as the specific diameter of a water conduit to be connected to the private residence or baths. Again, as in Rome, this relied on the employment of a permanent and dedicated staff of water inspectors, whose hands were branded with the mark of their authority and responsibility. But this was not a sufficient guarantee against fraud when something as precious and prestigious as a private water connection was concerned.

The so-called Silahtarağa fountain was located in the vicinity of Constantinople. Hitherto it has been considered a construction of the Antonine age (AD 138–93), but Brenda Longfellow demonstrates that it is far more likely to have been a product of the later fourth century, developing a suggestion made by Bente Kiilerich and Hjalmar Torp. Longfellow commends an analysis by Marianne Bergmann, which posited a workshop active in Constantinople that was responsible also for the carved bases of the Theodosian Obelisk. She develops the hypothesis with numerous telling comparanda and posits a blended workshop, comprising artists from Constantinople and Aphrodisias. The Silahtarağa statues include snaky-legged giants, and Longfellow places these within the fuller context of Constantinople's serpentine imagery, notably in the Forum of Constantine and the Hippodrome, exploring a renaissance of interest in such compositions in the later fourth and fifth centuries. Longfellow also finds no firm evidence that the Silahtarağa group adorned a fountain, although she does not rule out that possibility, and certainly water displays, like serpents, were popular in the Theodosian period.

A bronze goose, whose origins are obscure, is believed to have come from the hippodrome of Constantinople when it was donated to the British Museum in 1859. If its location on the *euripos* cannot be proven, Rowena Loverance, in a fascinating study informed by new analysis at the British Museum, shows that it is well worth considering the tableau in which such a piece would have been displayed. She suggests that the bronze goose may have been a companion to Artemis, or may have been shown with companions pulling a chariot, or it may have taken a starring role within a depiction of the Rape of the Sabine Women. The last possibility receives supplementary support from an association with a tale that emerged in Byzantium, later established among the foundation myths of Constantinople by Hesychios of Miletos, and from an intriguing possibility, that the goose once emitted not water but sound. However, this would remove another fountain from the few we have identified for medieval Constantinople, just as analysis conducted by the British Museum shows no material evidence that a pipe, recorded in the nineteenth century, still exists in the goose, nor that one was ever attached.

If Loverance shows there is little evidence to support a claim often made for the goose, that it once served as a fountain, then Stephenson proves that the Serpent Column did once, and probably for centuries, expel water. The column stands on a marble base with a large hole drilled through it. A lead pipe was directed through this hole, directing water from a conduit beneath the column into the bronze. Water certainly emerged from the base of the

column, where a hole was cut into the bronze and a channel was carved into the marble base onto which the column is fixed by a lead footing. There is, however, no firm evidence that pipes carried this water up to the mouths of the serpents, more than six metres high. Still, as early as the fourteenth century, a legend had emerged that the fountain once expelled different liquids from each serpent's mouth, most commonly reported as water, wine and milk. These liquids had scriptural significance, but the stories may have inspired, or in turn may have been inspired by, the construction of a 'magic fountain' at the court of the Mongol ruler, Möngke Khan (1209–59), from which flowed water, wine, mares' milk and mead.

Stephenson shows that serpentine fountains were frequently portrayed in manuscript illuminations produced in Constantinople in the twelfth century as a finial formed from entwined snakes expelling water. Snake fountains were depicted in scenes of the Annunciations both to Anne and to Mary, where they allude to the serpentine tempter of Genesis, by whom mankind was led astray. Paradise lost would be regained through the waters that flow from the fountain, in four streams, as they did in Eden. The serpentine fountains evoked the Fall as they bore witness to the announcement by Gabriel that God would redeem mankind through the birth of Christ. In conclusion, Stephenson ponders whether the ability to expel various liquids was transferred to the Serpent Column, when in 1204 it survived the sack of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade, but also leaves open the intriguing possibility, suggested in a Byzantinising psalter produced in Canterbury between 1180 and 1200, that such a fountain did exist immediately prior to the sack.

Stephenson offers no firm date for the plumbing of the Serpent Column. In contrast, we have approximate dates for several other well-known fountains that occupied secular spaces in medieval Constantinople, notably within the Great Palace grounds, including in courtyards provided for the circus factions to perform ritualised dances and acclamations for the emperors. *Theophanes* records that in AD 693/4 Justinian II required the destruction and relocation of a church to accommodate the fountain of the Blues, an action that would be reversed two centuries later.¹ The tenth-century *De cerimoniis* allows us to determine that the fountain of the Blues was built at the foot of the terrace of the Pharos chapel, and also to identify the fountain of the Greens, which adjoined the *triclinium* of Justinian, built by the same emperor. The *Vita Basilii*, preserved in the collection known as *Theophanes Continuatus*, informs us that many decades before the *De cerimoniis* was compiled, the fountains had been moved. Benefiting from the established water supply, Basil I 'built that very beautiful, large, and well

illuminated bath of the palace which is above the so-called Phiale – a name left over from the stone fountain of the Blue faction that formerly stood there.’ Additionally, ‘the fountain of the other faction, I mean the Greens, used to stand in the eastern court of the palace, but was moved when the holy church that is there was built.’² Guiland has suggested that these are the same fountains that have just been described in the *Vita Basilii* adorning the atrium to the west of Basil’s new church, the Nea, still within the palace grounds, being the very church for which the fountain of the Greens was moved (see map 2).³

The *Vita Basilii* here describes a basin ‘made of Egyptian stone, which we are wont to call Roman [porphyry], and is encircled by serpents excellently carved’. This is probably the same fountain that Andronikos Komnenos moved to his mausoleum from the small garden of the imperial palace in the 1180s. According to Niketas Choniates, this was a ‘great porphyry basin, which has coiled together around its rim two entwined dragons, a wonder to behold.’⁴ Laskarina Bouras identified this object as the basin that stands today in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia, which has holes in a circular recess where a finial may once have been mounted (see plate 1). However, this identification must be questioned, because this basin is fashioned from breccia not porphyry.⁵

A fuller picture of the water culture of medieval Constantinople is provided by Paul Magdalino, whose chapter begins by sketching the state of the city’s water supply system between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, so far as it is revealed by rhetoricians. This is contrasted with the situation between the later ninth century and the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Magdalino suggests that ‘the eighth-century restoration of the long-distance water supply [w]as the foundation of the building projects of the Byzantine “renaissance” of the ninth and tenth centuries’, and that ‘all the new important foundations of th[at] period incorporated facilities for the large-scale, conspicuous consumption of water’. Offering commentary on all the main fountains known from texts of the period, including the Mystic Fountain of the Triconch and the *phialai* of the factions, Magdalino suggests that an imperial initiative of the later ninth century saw notable or notorious fountains and basins moved from secular, profane locations into sacred spaces.

Magdalino also introduces the ritual bath (*louma*) in the courtyard of the Arsenal of the Neorion, established by the patrician Antonios for his ‘brothers in Christ’ and refurbished for the use of Romanos I and his co-emperors. Although this is the only extant account of the establishment of a *louma*, as it is recorded in the *Synaxarion*, Magdalino ponders whether

other private baths of late antiquity became miraculous, healing ritual baths. In closing he returns to a bath about which he has written much in the past, now with new insights into the construction of the Bath of Leo the Wise and its evocation in a rich poem by Leo Choirosphaktes, who later wrote an ekphrasis on the thermal springs at Pythia in Bithynia, 'a bath-house built by God'.

Magdalino reminds us that all baths incorporated fountains, and that in middle Byzantium water was sanctified by the presence of a church. Jesper Blid Kullberg focuses on an example of this process, whereby a late antique bath complex, perhaps one of the *balneae privatae* listed in the *Notitia*, was transformed in the fifth to sixth century into a church complex featuring a notable atrium fountain. Moreover, the North Church was constructed parallel to the Aqueduct of Valens, using two of its arches as vaults for its nave. Blid Kullberg compares this reuse of hydraulic infrastructure within Constantinople to three examples elsewhere, at St Demetrios in Thessalonike, the sanctuary at Labraunda and the Kaplıcalar Basilica at Phrygian Hierapolis. Only the last example is ostentatious. Blid Kullberg advances the thesis that, far from eradicating Roman bathing, the adaptation of baths to churches reflected a Christianisation of established attitudes towards water and health; a notion that is clearly echoed in Magdalino's reflections on ritual bathing.

Philipp Niewöhner offers a catalogue of Byzantine zoomorphic rain-water spouts beginning with seven spouts used in the construction of the early sixth-century church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople. Unlike basilicas with pitched roofs, domed churches required spouts to channel water away from the walls. To the group discovered in Saraçhane he adds an eighth spout, incorporated after the Fourth Crusade into a fountain at a Venetian monastery in Cyprus. The more varied, naturalistic and Sasanian-inspired motifs of the early Byzantine period are succeeded by the more stylised and geometric spouts of the middle Byzantine period, almost invariably carved with lion heads. Just as the marble channels protected the masonry of the buildings they adorned, their fierce form as lions baring teeth served an apotropaic function. After considering the distinctive lion-headed *sima* spouts of the Theotokos church at Hosios Loukas and its Athenian derivatives, Niewöhner identifies as Byzantine three spouts at the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa, perhaps taken from the Venetian palace in Constantinople. One of the spouts, however, probably originated as a fountain head. In contrast to rainwater spouts, lion-head spouts from fountains are typically smaller and more delicately carved with benevolent expressions. They also, of course, lack long channels.

Eunice Dauterman Maguire reminds us that fountains gave water shape and sound, and perhaps even smell, engaging a range of senses. Taking pleasure in different kinds of water noise was a Byzantine inheritance from both Greece and Rome, and finial forms incorporated and emulated ancient models: a pine-cone spread water like its own seeds with a sprinkling sound, a bird shaped a jet as if in flight, while a serpent hissed and a lion's mouth roared out a cascade. Using utterances from Gregory of Nazianzus to frame her observations, Dauterman Maguire first considers changing perspectives on water containers and basins, spouts and outlets, that gave water shape, and the crossovers between secular and sacred, artificial and natural settings. Second, she and Gregory consider the sounds of water, finding its roar competitive to worship or its gentle fall a prelude to worship, the sound of a sprinkling that cleansed and refreshed at an atrium fountain of a church. A range of water sounds are surveyed and compared to musical instruments and the tunes they produce, or to the human voice, chanting or singing a lullaby, or when rhetorically engaged, and even to 'pink noise'. Gregory of Nazianzus is depicted in a famous manuscript frontispiece writing his homilies as two fountains, which Dauterman Maguire now suggests masked less pleasant noises and aided his concentration.

Turning to spouts, finials and basins, Dauterman Maguire observes succinctly 'Generally speaking, lion-head spouts release downward-flowing water, while pinecone finials spray upward and outward from the top of a vertically rising pipe'. The directionality of water was also a concern for Gregory, who compared it to the passage of time and his own mortality: 'I flow downwards ... yet I am borne upwards', towards God. Referring to the very few traces or parts of fountains known from the empire, and suggesting more may be known but not identified – sculpted relief panels with fountain-related motifs – Dauterman Maguire relies more on texts and visual representations, including mosaics. She returns frequently and with profit to the Annunciation mosaic at Daphni, where the water spouted became an extension of a fountain of many parts, and alights only once but with piercing insight at the fountain in the Theodora mosaic at Ravenna.

A less famous sixth-century mosaic, at Kiti in Cyprus, is the wellhead for Brooke Shilling's chapter, an investigation of the fountain of paradise, also called the fountain of life, in early Byzantine art, homilies and hymns. Traversing the floor mosaics of the fifth- and sixth-century Balkans, those of Cyprus and Jordan from the fourth to seventh centuries, and lands in between and beyond, numerous examples of the fountain are identified while others are questioned, including a sixth-century marble relief brought from Ankara to Istanbul that teems with aquatic life and was drilled to

accommodate a pipe. A full exposition of the apse mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the Church of the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti yields remarkable, hitherto marginalised insights, for in the border ducks, beribboned parrots and deer drink from separate sets of fountains, representing both Creation and the earthly paradise, evoking metaphors of nature and fertility embedded in contemporary homilies and hymns to the Virgin. We hear in turn from the popes of Rome and Constantinople, Leo the Great and Proklos, from Ephrem the Syrian and Hesychios of Jerusalem, Jacob of Serug and Anastasios of Antioch, Andrew of Crete and John of Euboea, whose voices were raised in praise of the Virgin, in Latin and Greek and Syriac, across the Mediterranean through centuries, addressing her as a container of living waters, as the source of the rivers of Genesis and the sealed fountain foretold in the Song of Songs.

Henry Maguire offers a concise look at the absence and presence of depictions of water and fountains in art and texts after Byzantine iconoclasm. He begins, however, before iconoclasm, with the four 'Rivers of Paradise', which have been introduced by Shilling. These rivers were associated by early Christian writers with the Evangelists, whose gospels watered the four corners of the earth. The rivers were portrayed still in the medieval West, but hardly at all in Byzantine churches after iconoclasm, where instead visions of paradise in scenes of judgement lack water. Likewise, the Evangelists are rarely accompanied by water, but frequently by elaborate architecture, manmade structures which allude to the incarnation and locate the scene in the world. Maguire attributes the disappearance of the waters of paradise to eighth-century disputes over the depiction of nature, and in particular the associations suggested with pagan river gods, their cults and personifications. As the light of Christ, according to Andrew of Crete, had cleansed the Nile of its idols, so Christian churches after iconoclasm were cleansed of their fluvial images at the appearance of Christ. Images of the Virgin Mary also proliferated after iconoclasm, when she was confirmed as the ultimate intercessor, conveyor of human prayers. Mary too was only rarely portrayed with water, occasionally in depictions of the Annunciation, although fountains appeared more frequently in scenes contrasted with this, being the preliminary Annunciation at the Well, or the Annunciation to St Anne, the Virgin's mother. These preliminary scenes, like those placing Evangelists in architectural settings, were earth-bound, standing in contrast to the ethereal Annunciation proper. 'So fountains often play[ed] an ambivalent role in association with the Virgin in Byzantine church art after iconoclasm. They celebrate[d] the conception of the Virgin by their presence, and they honor[ed] the conception

of Christ by their absence.’ That is, until the advent of a new iconographic type, the Virgin as *Zoodochos Pege*, although now, even in the Palaiologan period, there is a continued reluctance to portray actual water with ‘the life-giving source’.

Helena Bodin explores the motif of the Mother of God as a fountain in Byzantine hymnography, reminding us that an understanding, and hence a translation into English, of the *Zoodochos Pege* must be ambiguous and active. *Zoodochos Pege* conveys both the act of containing (the ‘life-receiving source’) and emitting (the ‘life-giving source’); she is both a basin and a fountain, a laver and a spring. Starting in the headwaters of the Akathistos hymn, Bodin steers us rapidly through the abundant and rich imagery in Greek and Slavonic *theotokia*, hymns to the Mother of God, to reach a fourteenth-century service by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos dedicated to the *Zoodochos Pege*. Through grace comes healing from all manner of ‘grievous illness’, including cancer, leprosy, paralysis and infertility. The life-giving source offers protection from falling roofs during earthquakes, and may even raise a man from the dead, quickened by drops from the spring. He may rise as others leap for joy when touched by the spring.

The hymnographer’s poetry draws on ideas familiar from other writings, including several works explored by Ingela Nilsson, where eloquence is offered in return for gold. Xanthopoulos seeks not wealth for himself but grace for those who perform and attend his service: ‘Now dost thou gush forth grace for me, O Virgin Theotokos of the Spring, thereby granting me eloquence, that I may praise thy Spring, which pours forth life and grace for the faithful.’ Eloquence is the Theotokos’ gift, and even as he employs it Xanthopolous relates that ‘the eloquence of rhetors’, including his own, is ‘put to shame’ before the purity of the Theotokos, whose grace heals the deaf and dumb. In contrast, Ingela Nilsson introduces the rhetors, poets and letter writers who, in the words of Michael Psellos, the most eminent among them, offer ‘fountains of words’ to patrons who are encouraged to ‘let repayment gush forth in return with an even greater stream’. Nilsson’s subject is friendship, a topic much discussed in recent scholarship, and its relationship to patronage, floods of words exchanged for rivers of gold. The ubiquitous metaphor of Paktolos, the golden river, employed by Christopher of Mitylene and Constantine Manasses, Manganeios and Theodore Prodromos, its natural flow augmented or superseded by man-made waterworks, aqueducts and fountains, is explored. In Eustathios of Thessalonike’s telling, the emperor’s gold-flowing Paktolos might remedy Constantinople’s very

real lack of water, by spending on the city's depleted water supply system. Other patrons and patronesses, as pupils, thirst for knowledge, for words that spurt forth from their client rhetors, their teachers, in quenching drafts. As John Tzetzes observed, 'if anyone should draw water from my fountains, he shall not go thirsty'.

Terése Nilsson introduces the Greek novels of the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods, and their antecedents of the Second Sophistic, wherein gardens and fountains abound. Water in the antique novels flows from natural springs, while one finds in the twelfth-century love-stories 'realistic' fountains with metaphorical functions, and in the fourteenth-century romances fabulous fairy-tale fountains. The heroine of a novel is frequently described as sharing the features of a garden, the space where she will meet, kiss and caress her lover. Within those imagined enclosed medieval gardens, where nature is tamed and passion is loosed, fountains are frequently described and in a manner far more elaborate than in antique novels, suggesting a knowledge of contemporary art, waterworks and automata. Nilsson expounds on ekphraseis by Makrembolites and Eugenianos, who both devote half their descriptions of a garden to its fountain. The water of Makrembolites' fountain is bathed in by Eros, who fertilises the garden and irrigates the seeds of love he had planted. Youthful Eros is also the emperor, perhaps a specific emperor, the youthful Manuel Komnenos. The fountain is also the erotic emperor, its finial surmounted by an imperial eagle in gold spraying out the fecund waters. Makrembolites' heroine, Hysmine, washes her hands in the fountain's water and from a pitcher filled at the eagle's beak she dilutes the wine she serves to welcome her lover, Hysminias. Later she washes his feet with the same water, a form of ritual cleansing and an erotic act.

Isabel Kimmelfield's chapter addresses the origins and development of the Pege shrine, highlighting its interpretations, throughout its history until today, as a place of healing. Kimmelfield argues that during the middle Byzantine period the Pege acted also as a spiritual bulwark for the city of Constantinople, paired with the Blachernae, which similarly had a spring and imperial patrons. Imperial patronage for the shrine is highlighted, with attention drawn to the legend of Leo and in the elaboration of the shrine and the building of a new church by Justinian. Later in its history, the church lacked such powerful patrons, but enjoyed a far more powerful patroness, the Theotokos, who ensured that pilgrims travelling from afar would benefit from her cold healing waters. Miracles were performed and collected, as Alice-Mary Talbot has demonstrated, informing Kimmelfield's summative reflections on Xanthopoulos.

The final two chapters address the transition from Byzantium to the early Ottoman period. In the fifteenth century the reservoirs and aqueducts of Constantinople were considered wonders of a mythical past.⁶ However, there is strong evidence that Mehmet II Fatih was less intimidated by these wonders and sought to emulate his Roman forebears in adding to the city's water supply for his new palace at Beyazid.⁷ The pace of fountain construction increased steadily, and then dramatically, after the Ottoman capture of Constantinople, known now officially as Kostantiniyye, but generally as Istanbul. According to A. Egeman (1993), in Istanbul today there are 77 extant fountains built in the sixteenth century, 130 from the seventeenth century, and 365 from the eighteenth century. Of the last category, according to Aynur and Karateke (1995), 216 fountains can be dated to the reign of Ahmed III (1703–30).

In a short but insightful paper drawing on Byzantine and Ottoman material, Federica Broilo considers the role of cypress trees placed at ablution fountains. An association with the life-giving waters is posited, and an original hypothesis is offered in conclusion, that the use of canopies and the inclusion of cypresses next to *şadırvan* or ablution fountains in the courtyards of Ottoman royal mosques was inspired by the Byzantine ablution fountain at Hagia Sophia. She notes in particular the canopied fountain by Mimar Sinan in the courtyard of the Kadirga Sokullu Mosque. Johan Mårtelius devotes attention to the full range of Sinan's ablution fountains in Istanbul. Sinan was a renowned hydraulic engineer in his own day, praised for his aqueducts as for his mosques, and his *şadırvan* fountains were integral elements to the mosque complexes he designed from the start. In building his first mosque, the Şehzade Mehmet Mosque, Sinan drew water from the adjacent Aqueduct of Valens. Its octagonal *şadırvan*, placed in the courtyard, echoed the octagonal Şehzade Mehmet türbe, the living waters balancing the tomb of the dead prince honoured by the mosque. The relationship of fountain and tomb, life and death, was explored by Sinan in several other contexts, as was the fountain as microcosm. At the Rüstem Paşa madrasa, an octagonal *şadırvan* stood within an octagonal courtyard, standing for the entire plan of the complex. At the mosque complex of the sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Sinan devised a different solution, where taps for ablution were placed in the outer courtyard, fed by a subterranean water delivery system. In the inner courtyard he placed a rectangular central fountain, which was purely decorative and featured four minarets at its corners, truly the mosque in microcosm, and like it alluding to the Kaaba, 'its four columns the four caliphs'. In sight and sound, and by its cooling effect, the fountain evoked paradise. This was expressed otherwise in

mosque courtyards where four water channels, the four rivers of paradise, ran off from the corners of a central fountain. The separation of waterworks serving functional and symbolic needs became a motif for Sinan, for example in his attention to the provision of *sebils*, public fountains for drinking water. At Sinan's Selimiye Mosque, a centrally located drinking fountain features a basin in the form of an inverted dome, echoing at an intimate scale the dome of the mosque, the largest constructed by the great Ottoman architect.

A small sixteenth-century fountain deserves our attention in closing, to illustrate quite how fragile is our hold on the fountains of Constantinople, Byzantine and early Ottoman. Constructed just beyond the Yedikule, Mehmet II's seven-towered fortress and prison that dominated the southern end of the Theodosian land walls, the Kazlı Çeşme was dated by its inscription to 1537. The back of the fountain comprised two slabs of marble set into an arched niche. The finial emerged from the lower marble slab to project water into a large rectangular basin below. On the upper slab of marble was carved a relief of a plump goose, upon which Evliya Çelebi commented approvingly (see plate 2). In 2000, Henry Maguire suggested that this carving was characteristic of Byzantine sculptural reliefs of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and proposed further that the slab may formerly have been part of a Byzantine fountain erected in roughly the same location, that is to say within the Aretai garden.⁸ The goose fountain was so famous that it gave its name to the neighbourhood, Kazlıçeşme within Istanbul's Zeytinburnu district. However, recently the Kazlı Çeşme was removed for a period of time and was feared destroyed. Where it had stood, on the site of the Byzantine garden of virtues, there is now a parking lot. 'Don't it always seem to go', one might have observed until, miraculously, the goose fountain reappeared.

Notes

- 1 *Theophanes*, ed. de Boor 1883–5: 368; tr. Mango and Scott 1997: 513. See Guiland 1969: I, 211–16.
- 2 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 336 (= *Vita Basilii*, ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 297–8); tr. Mango 1972: 199.
- 3 Guiland 1969: I, 211–16, and see Magdalino in this volume.
- 4 Niketas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten 1975: 332; tr. Mango 1972: 234.

- 5 L. Bouras 1977: 65–8, seems to have been aware of the problem, as she wrote only of ‘red stone’ and not of porphyry. I thank Federica Broilo for reminding me of this important distinction. See also Broilo 2009: 21. Delbrueck’s catalogue of porphyry objects records a porphyry fountain basin with snakes at the rim at Naples, and also a porphyry snake-head now in Paris. See Delbrueck 1932: 176–9.
- 6 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 242–3.
- 7 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 115.
- 8 H. Maguire 2000: 256–7, figs. 6–8.

1 | Where do we go now? The archaeology of monumental fountains in the Roman and early Byzantine East

JULIAN RICHARD

My lecture presented at the conference, titled ‘What to Expect? The Archaeology of Monumental Fountains in the Roman and early Byzantine Periods’, was intended as a general introduction to the theme of the conference, and summarised the current archaeological approaches to the study of Roman and early Byzantine public fountains. The aim was to propose tracks of reflection for future studies that draw on ongoing debates, as well as to point out a few important material and methodological aspects hitherto neglected in the study of so-called ‘nymphaea’. In this chapter, I have extended the original scope of the lecture to include a short historiographic overview of the field, in order to identify the origins of current research trends on monumental fountains and their numerous shortcomings. The overview will not be limited to a strict archaeological or technical perspective on the topic: I will also examine a few recent studies addressing the social, political and cultural context of which these lavish water structures ubiquitous in ancient urban centres were the material expression. To provide context for the focus of this volume on Constantinople, I shall concentrate on studies addressing the eastern Mediterranean at large. It is worth considering the rich archaeological evidence from the wider region, not only because it has been abundantly studied, but also because a critical examination of past and current studies of fountains in Greece, Asia Minor and the Levant may provide a good methodological basis for further study of the sparse architectural, technical, decorative and epigraphic evidence associated with ancient monumental fountains in Byzantium–Constantinople. Due to their poor state of preservation, fountains in Byzantium–Constantinople are indeed less well-known than the aqueducts, cisterns and other types of waterworks in the same city.

Monumental fountains in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond: a brief historiographic overview

The first signs of a modern interest in ancient monumental fountains are not found in the eastern Mediterranean but, quite logically, in western

Europe during the Italian Renaissance. The imposing remains of these rich, multi-storied columnar façades originally filled with statues quickly attracted the eye of contemporary artists. Only the most conspicuous of these monuments were recorded, such as the Severan Septizodium (fig. 1.1) or the so-called *Trofei di Mario* in Rome,¹ whereas plainer water distribution structures not deemed worthy of artistic interest were ignored. Nevertheless, ruined monumental fountains remain scarce amongst the recorded waterworks, especially compared to the endless sequences of aqueduct arches or the overwhelming ruins of ancient baths. It was the artistic and intellectual value of these façades, with their coloured marbles, statues and inscriptions, that triggered the interest of contemporaries. The possibility that they might have fulfilled utilitarian functions was clearly secondary.² The traditional opposition between a perception of monumental fountains as mere decorative water displays and the more technical or

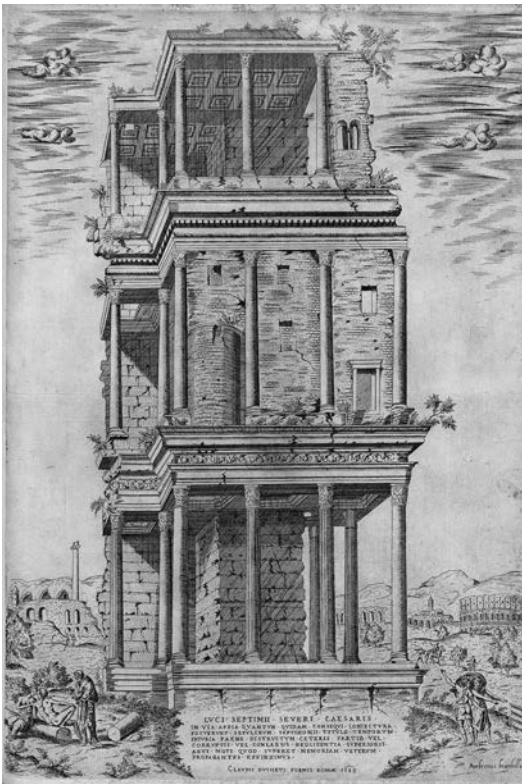


Fig 1.1. The Septizodium in Rome by Antonio Lafreri.

Courtesy University of Chicago, Special Collections Research Center.

engineering-oriented surveys of other types of waterworks somehow finds its origin in that period, and would remain an important point of discussion.

From the nineteenth century onward, western explorers strolling through the eastern Mediterranean noted the presence of ruined *nymphaea* that were still standing at the most conspicuous locations of ancient cities. During his expedition to Pisidia and Pamphylia in 1884 and 1885, the Polish aristocrat K. G. Lanckoroński and his team of cartographers, epigraphers, photographers and architects, recorded the remains of *nymphaea* at Aspendos, Side and Sagalassos.³ They collected detailed measurements of the standing structures (fig. 1.2), and made extremely accurate drawings of the architectural members and their ornamentation. At Sagalassos and Side, reliefs depicting aquatic motifs found respectively on the lower podium and on the frontal parapet of the two fountains were drawn and their mythological contents commented upon. In these reports, monumental fountains were treated as static visual objects, with a marked interest for building ornaments and statuary decoration, whereas the chronology and hydro-technical details were neglected. By contrast, aqueducts and plainer types of fountains were looked at from a more technical viewpoint, such as the impressive siphon of Aspendos and the cisterns of Termessos, described and drawn by Lanckoroński's team.⁴ In 1904–5, the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria under the direction of Howard Crosby Butler similarly recorded a large amount of buildings from all periods – including *nymphaea* – with a specific focus on the restitution of ground plans and elevations, leaving aside any technical consideration other than the structural properties of the recorded buildings or the materials of which they were made.⁵ Despite their irreplaceable documentary value,⁶ these early accounts also originated enduring false identifications, such as the so-called 'nymphaea' of Amman and Bosra, which later proved to be 'dry' exedra-shaped monuments designed to display statues.⁷

With the German scholar Ernst Curtius (1814–96), the artistic study of monumental fountains and their decoration became a popular subject of scholarly connoisseurship. His works *Die städtischen Wasserbauten der Hellenen* (1847), *Griechische Quell- und Brunneninschriften* (1859) and



Fig 1.2. Ground plan of the late Hadrianic Nymphaeum at Sagalassos drawn by the team of K.G. Lanckoroński, after Lanckoroński 1892, Abb. 104.

Die Plastik der Hellenen an Quellen und Brunnen (1876)⁸ count amongst the earliest attempts to synthesise the existing knowledge on the subject, despite a strictly philological and art historical perspective. Although Curtius focused exclusively on the fountains of Greece – he initiated the German excavations in Olympia, where the so-called ‘Exedra of Herodes Atticus’ was found – his approach would remain the classical way to study monumental fountains across the eastern Mediterranean for a large part of the twentieth century.

The second half of the nineteenth century indeed saw the expansion of large-scale excavations in the eastern Mediterranean, the so-called ‘big digs’ popular during that heyday of classical archaeology. Huge amounts of architectural data were generated and compiled in numerous detailed publications. Despite their limited scope – usually the recording and lengthy description of architectural remains, statues and inscriptions – the mass of information they contain gives them a unique value, if sometimes only because the buildings or their decoration have disappeared since then or were deliberately cleared. For example, in Olympia, the accounts on the excavations undertaken at the so-called ‘Exedra of Herodes Atticus’ in 1877 record the clearance of a large Roman brick structure and the discovery of statues.⁹ The recognisable character of the different components of the hydraulic apparatus quickly supported the identification of these ruins as a fountain. The remains were published in three separate sections between 1892 and 1896, which presented respectively the architecture, the statues and the inscriptions.¹⁰ The architectural study of the remains continued episodically during the first half of the twentieth century. Scholars produced fanciful restitutions of the demolished superstructure (fig. 1.3) and speculated on the original location of the numerous statues collected in the ruins. In contrast, the way the hydraulic installation could function was widely neglected, except for brief observations on the general layout of the cistern, basins and water inlets. In Corinth, the identification of the Peirene in 1898, based on ancient written accounts, remains a landmark in early field research on public fountains.¹¹ Fieldwork mainly consisted of clearing the ruins, a difficult task hampered by the flowing spring and modern waterworks still functioning on the spot. In the early twentieth century, the careful recording of the hydraulic installations – not limited in this case to a façade and a basin, but also including the complex supply installation behind it – was done with a certain awareness of hydraulic technology, and resulted in the exhaustive architectural and functional study of the complex by Bert Hodge Hill published in 1964.¹² In 1919, the publication of the *nymphaeum* of Miletos by Julius Hülsen was another major step towards a

study of public fountains alongside the technical details of their hydraulic supply. Hülsen described extensively the complex terminal installations of the aqueduct located behind the three-storied façade, as well as the two draw basins in front of it, although the largest part of the monograph still consisted in the detailed documentation of the many architectural members found scattered amongst the ruins, followed by the restitution of the façade. The abundant statuary decoration, which has disappeared since then except for three statues preserved in Istanbul and Berlin,¹³ is described extensively. The description of the remains is followed by a lengthy attempt to reconstruct the original statuary display in the niches and tabernacles of the façade, mainly based on basic modern assumptions of the iconographic hierarchy amongst the deities and individuals depicted, with gods assigned a central place and half-gods or secondary figures in the upper storeys. The greatest contribution of Hülsen remains the short account of the development of antique fountain architecture at the end of the volume. Mainly concentrated on Greece and drawn from epigraphy and vase paintings, Hülsen's overview also includes the few Roman *nymphaea* known at that time in Rome, the Levant, Asia Minor and North Africa. Once more,

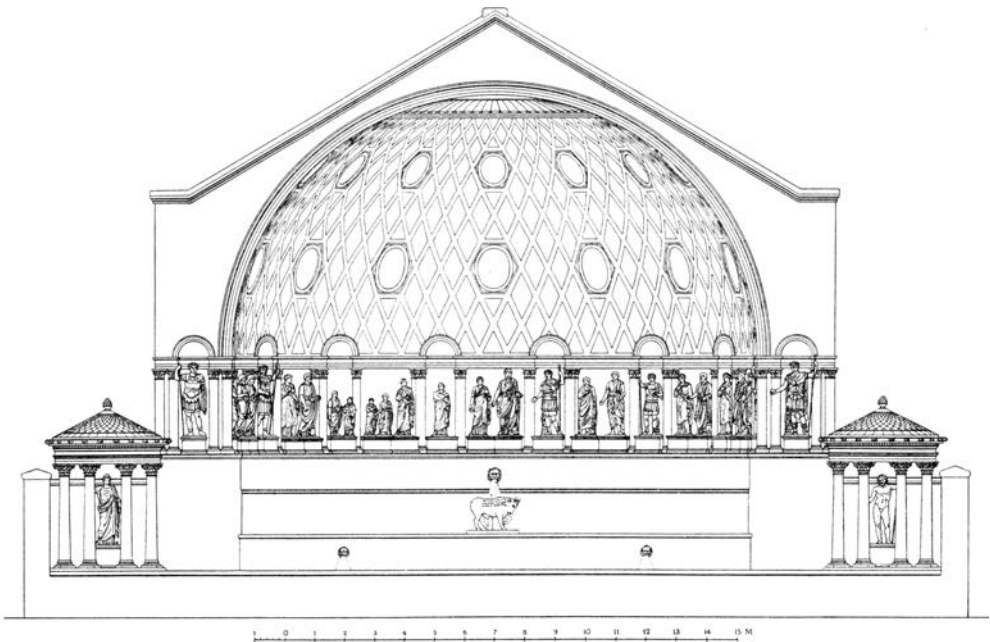


Fig 1.3. Olympia, Exedra of Herodes Atticus. Tentative reconstitution of the elevation by F. Adler, after Treu 1897, Abb. 294.

these are envisioned as static architectural entities classified according to their ground plan and elevation.

The canonical separation between the descriptive or art-historical study of fountains and the more technical perception of aqueducts, water pipelines and bathing establishments became standard in early encyclopedias and handbooks of Greco-Roman art and archaeology. In the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* published between 1877 and 1919, grand monumental fountains are grouped under the heading 'nymphaeum', whereas plainer water installations are described under the entry 'fons'.¹⁴ In these works, the ancient terminology applied to the different categories of fountains is used as the main classification criterion, which not only gave a special status to every structure called 'nymphaeum', but also implied a direct architectural link between all Greek and Roman waterworks associated with this term. The few known monumental fountains of Rome and North Africa are treated in greater detail than those in the eastern Mediterranean, with descriptions focused on ground plans and basic architectural properties. In another handbook, the *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine* published in 1916 by the French scholars René Cagnat and Victor Chapot, all sorts of Roman public fountains, classified by size from the modest *lacus* lining the streets of Pompeii to a few grander realisations of North Africa and the East, are envisioned as functional installations that are part of a distribution network, although this link seems more evident for plainer waterworks than for *nymphaea*.¹⁵

Until the 1980s, the corpus of excavated monumental fountains grew significantly. During that period, the now traditional tripartite division architecture/sculpture/inscriptions structured the majority of publications. The excavations reports on the Roman fountains lining the streets of cities like Ephesos¹⁶ or Perge¹⁷ illustrate this trend. Particularly striking is, once more, the attention given to the description of architectural members and to the restitution of the original location of statues in the façades. By contrast, the hydraulic apparatus only receives short comments, making very difficult any attempt of functional contextualisation of these fountains within the water distribution system of each city. Aqueducts and other supply installations were generally published separately, as if fountains were minimally involved in water distribution. It is obvious that the specific focus of scholarship on the *display* of water – which remains a fact, given the open architectural configuration of these fountains and the interplay between their decorative façades and the large reflecting basins – overshadowed the wide spectrum of utilitarian functions these fountains also fulfilled. This one-sided view can certainly be explained – at least in part – by the typical structure and

scope of these publications. Another point to note is the lack of interest in tracing the later construction phases of fountains. The frequent alterations made to architectural features, to the hydro-technical elements or to the statuary programmes are only mentioned briefly – if mentioned at all – without envisioning them in terms of building phases. At best, these later alterations are simply gathered as a hypothetical ‘late-antique’ or ‘Byzantine phase’ not deemed worthy of interest.¹⁸

By the late 1950s, the quantity of available architectural data allowed the development of the first broad-ranging architectural typologies. Reflecting on their purpose and value is essential, since these studies are still frequently quoted or used as a quick way to gain access to published material. Typological classifications of fountains are invariably based on visual and formal properties, and rarely reach beyond a strictly descriptive level. They are mainly intended to classify rather than to explain the material. Three criteria were used to structure these classifications: the ground plan, the layout of the façade or the stylistic properties of the building ornamentation. Most early typologies of Roman monumental fountains made a distinction between flat or pi-shaped façades, sigma-shaped (or apsidal) façades, and façades articulated around three monumental apses. The presence of apses, in general, was thought to reflect the primitive shape of the cultic grotto devoted to the Nymphs, from which Roman *nymphaea* were supposed to derive.¹⁹ Formal comparisons between *nymphaea* and theatres were at some points in time very popular.²⁰ The two classes of buildings indeed shared many similarities: long columnar façades with quantifiable variables (e.g. number of storeys, niches, tabernacles or *aediculae*), complex statuary programmes and written documents. At the same time, broad regional groupings of different types of theatres and fountains – usually according to a traditional East–West divide²¹ – imposed a certain degree of heterogeneity upon which comparisons between the provinces and Rome could be based. These chronological-geographical comparisons became the most frequent expression of what can be qualified as a ‘decontextualised typology’ of Roman monumental fountains. The main risk of this approach is to create improbable formal parallels over large distances, which are not only inexact in many cases, but also tend to blur the historical contingency proper to each region or building. The Antonine/Severan (?) *nymphaeum* at Side, for instance, has frequently been compared to the Septizodium in Rome, mainly because their façades were both articulated around three apses and because their date of construction was thought to be close.²² This hypothesis, rooted in formal similarities, presupposes the influence of one building upon the other. The main problem is that, if most authors postulate

an influence directed from Rome to Side, at least one implies the opposite!²³ The lack of tangible dating evidence in the case of Side and the poor state of preservation of the Septizodium cast even more doubt on such formal parallels.²⁴ The main asset of such typological catalogues, however, remains the richness of the material they contain. In that respect, the publication of the Severan *nymphaeum* at Laodikeia in Phrygia by René Ginouvès in 1969 can be considered another landmark of fountain research for the sum of details it contains.²⁵ The narrative underlying this vast collection of fountains from all regions of the Roman world is still directed by terminology and architectural typology. Like the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, these catalogues take the term ‘nymphaeum’ as a leitmotif to compile an accumulative description of fountains, regardless of their local context. Another common structuring narrative of these catalogues is the examination of Greek and Roman waterworks in a linear typological-chronological sequence,²⁶ a sort of storytelling typical of a certain idea of classical archaeology, the validity of which is never really justified by scholars themselves, as if the continuity between the two groups of fountains obeyed a self-fulfilling logic.

At the beginning of the 1980s, any researcher willing to work on Roman monumental fountains had at his disposal catalogues featuring in the best cases an extensive description of each fountain’s architectural and decorative properties, as well as the relevant chronological data and bibliography. As a matter of fact, the scope and methodology characterising each of the publications reviewed here is typical of the period when it was written. Nevertheless, three recurring shortcomings can be pointed out. The first element is the lack of contextualisation of the evidence: fountains were treated as mere visual objects seen as an accumulation of quantifiable constitutive parts. This decontextualisation of the architectural object hampers any understanding of the motives behind its construction, of its practical use, of its integration within large urban dynamics or of its perception by contemporaries. Architectural typology tends to become an independent entity existing alongside the material it originally intended to explain, and it creates categories that did not exist or were not perceived as such in antiquity. A second recurring element is the creation of historical narratives rooted in ancient terminology or in a certain idea of Greco-Roman fountain architecture, presented as linear and accumulative storytelling. Finally – and this is linked to the first two shortcomings – fountains are envisaged in the ‘architectural climax’ constituted by the moment of their construction, and are often denied a historical existence. From a strict archaeological perspective, this distance could not be greater from fountains as excavated

objects, which comprise a mixed compound of original building elements, decorative, structural or functional alterations, incomplete, damaged or repaired parts.

In the 1990s and 2000s, the study of Roman monumental fountains has undergone a widening in scope, methodology and recording practices. The decontextualised evidence inherited from past scholarship is increasingly explored historically and dynamically, whereby the specificities of ‘Roman’ fountains – understood here in strict chronological terms – are examined within regional, historical, social and political contexts, rather than as elements in architectural or classical narratives.

Concerning Greece, the doctoral dissertation of Susan Walker on Roman fountains,²⁷ followed two decades later by a detailed article by the French scholar Sandrine Augusta-Boularot on the construction and maintenance of fountains during the first centuries of Roman rule in the region,²⁸ represented major steps towards a deeper historical contextualisation of Roman fountains. Through a detailed study of the architecture and decoration of the monumental fountains built in Greece during the High Imperial period, Walker was able to investigate the meaning of these monuments within the wider social-political context of the time, including themes such as the funding of fountains by imperial and private benefactors and the meaning of these monuments’ architectural and decorative opulence. The study of Augusta-Boularot focused on the long-term presence of public fountains in Greek public and religious spaces from the archaic and classical periods onward. She established a catalogue of pre-Roman and Roman fountains that not only focused on their first building phase, but also took into account their subsequent evolution and period of use. She then noticed the apparent scarcity of newly built ‘Roman’ fountains between the second century BC and the late first century AD, and she explained this fact by the active maintenance of the existing apparatus of older fountains. This emphasis on urban continuity, moving away from a simplistic list of dated buildings that articulated a linear architectural narrative, marked a major breakthrough towards the long-term examination of public fountains within regional and urban dynamics. Regrettably, this study makes a wide use of cultural-political labels, with statements such as ‘the Romans’ or ‘the Roman power’ as initiative taker in the construction of some of the fountains discussed in the article. This emphasis on the structures of power to the detriment of the local level of initiative potentially active in the process would later become an important element of debate, as stated below.

The 2001 monograph by Claudia Dorl-Klingenschmid, *Prunkbrunnen in kleinasiatischen Städten: Funktion im Kontext*, can be considered another

major breakthrough in the field, although it did not go as far as implied by its title and indicated aims.²⁹ Considering fountain architecture through the prism of regional continuity, Dorl-Klingenschmid explored in detail the formal, decorative and functional components of every type of fountain found in Asia Minor from the origin of fountain architecture in archaic times until late antiquity. With the exception of a few buildings recently (re) studied, her gazetteer remains the most comprehensive overview of fountain architecture in the region to this day. Through the analysis of architectural, decorative and hydro-technical details, Dorl-Klingenschmid not only envisioned fountains as an architectural shape and as a form of urbanistic expression, but also investigated for the first time the layout and meaning of their most mundane constitutive parts, such as draw basins and vessels, parapets, inlets and drainage facilities. Beyond utilitarian aspects, she put a strong emphasis on the meaning of monumental fountains as a tool of ideology and representation, whereby not only the imagery of power, but also the expression of urban and individual identities through architecture, sculpture and text are explored. Unfortunately, the importance given to architectural classifications is a major point of criticism. Dorl-Klingenschmid's study never really reaches beyond a strict examination of the meaning of architectural and decorative syntax, to the detriment of the contextual and functional issues presented as the primary aim of the book, and somehow it fails both to locate fountains within the socio-political and socio-cultural dynamics of each city and within the local contexts of water distribution. Despite these shortcomings, Dorl-Klingenschmid opened the way towards a context-minded examination of *all* structural parts of fountains, in contrast with the study of their architecture, decoration and epigraphic apparatus in a stylistic or classificatory manner.

Ongoing debates: addressing the entire functional spectrum of monumental fountains

In view of this brief survey of historiography, it seems clear that the main challenge posed to the current study of Roman monumental fountains is our ability to examine the entire extent of their functional spectrum (fig. 1.4). This spectrum oscillates between two poles: decorative and representative functions on the one hand, and a rich yet understudied utilitarian dimension on the other. The interplay between these two facets was the very *raison d'être* of Roman monumental fountains, and was maximised through their striking exposure at the most conspicuous locations of ancient cityscapes,

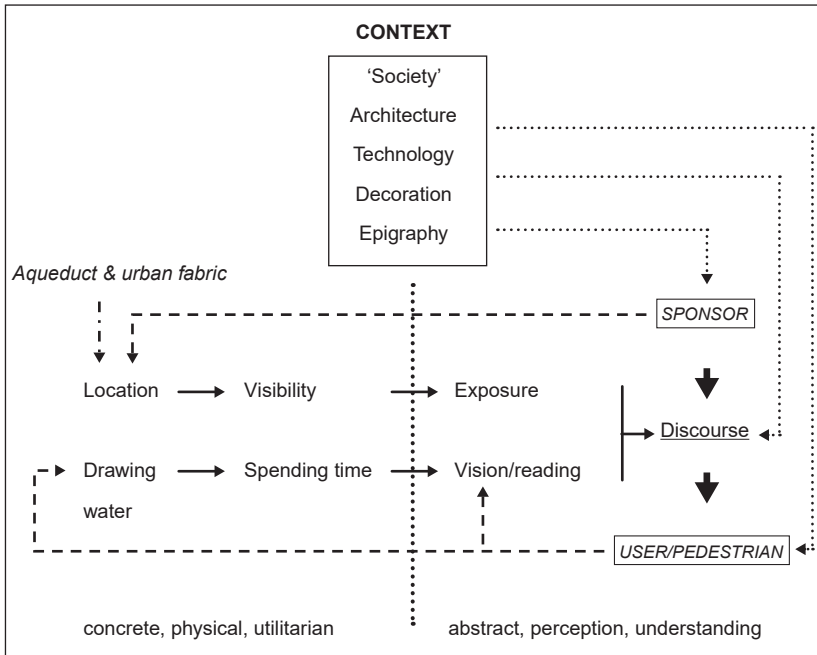


Fig 1.4. Diagram illustrating the functional spectrum of Roman monumental fountains, drawn by Julian Richard.

an aspect that is generally treated separately in broader studies on town-planning and ancient urban landscapes.³⁰ A second challenge is to envision this complex set of variables not in isolation, but rather as the expression of a wider local, regional or supra-regional context encompassing technological, architectural, decorative and epigraphic trends and practices, as well as broader social, political and economic dynamics.

The different approaches followed in past scholarship have successively put the emphasis upon specific fields of this functional spectrum, whereas others were largely avoided or neglected. The enduring art-historical perspective on monumental fountains, with its focus on visual aspects, both architectural and decorative, has elevated the importance of ornamental water display. Additionally, the desire to establish typologies and comparative classifications brought the global framework of the Roman Empire to the foreground. The awareness of a common formal language shared by the numerous monumental fountains found in the provinces of the empire – awareness strengthened by their similarities with other widely distributed classes of buildings with columnar façades such as theatres – precluded much in-depth examination of regional or local dynamics which may

equally have influenced both the technical design and the visual layout of fountains.

Ongoing debates revolve around three domains in which the study of Roman monumental fountains still possesses significant margins of extension. The first one is precisely this possible influence of regional and local levels of context. These not only incorporate the concrete initiatives of cities and locals in the funding, design and construction of fountains, but also the possible reception, rejection or reinterpretation of influences from the (supra-)regional and empire-wide context. Brenda Longfellow's monograph, *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*, published in 2011, is an excellent example of a wide-ranging contextual approach to Roman monumental fountains.³¹ It concentrates on the interplay between local and imperial agencies, and the ways in which cultural, political and social identities were expressed through the topography, architecture, decoration and hydraulic apparatus of Roman *nymphaea*. Based on a selection of thirty fountains from Greece, Asia Minor, North Africa and Rome that can be associated with both local benefactors and emperors, Brenda Longfellow explores the importance of the latter in the dialectic exchange between local communities, local patrons and their rulers. Concretely, this presence could manifest itself through the active intervention of the emperor in the funding and construction of fountains and waterworks or, more indirectly, through the visual presence of the figure of the ruler in statuary displays and inscriptions. Concerning Asia Minor in particular, Longfellow underscores the possible influence of provincial administrators upon the diffusion of new shapes inspired by imperial realisations in Rome, influences which, in turn, inspired private benefactors. I have expressed elsewhere, in relation to this monograph, the caution required in the study of such discourses of power.³² Purposely selecting fountains where the presence of the emperor – actively involved or not – is clearly attested leaves aside the large majority of those lacking such sources. This presents a risk of overestimating the role of external authorities, whereas, in most cases, the emperor was merely the passive recipient of local honours, the financial costs of building the fountain being supported by the city or private benefactors.³³

The terms of this debate, which also emerged in relation to aqueducts,³⁴ illustrates perfectly a question to tackle in future research: to what extent were 'Roman' monumental fountains the product of a certain 'Roman civilisation of water' or, should they primarily be seen as the result of local initiatives? How and to what degree were they encoded with external, urban and/or individual discourses and identities? How were they perceived by

the different agents coming across them during their long period of use? Interrogating the multiple levels of meanings encapsulated in public architecture is a promising trend of current research.³⁵ Thinking about monumental fountains in terms of initiative is crucial: this is the only way to cover the entire spectrum of agents and discourses involved in their funding, design, construction, use, visual perception and later alterations. It is essential to establishing the correct balance between, on the one hand, the active participation or the passive representation of external authorities in these processes and, on the other, the influence of local forces of initiative, including taking account of 'simple' users and pedestrians gazing at the façade. Suggestions as to how we might tackle these issues in archaeological terms will form the final section of this chapter.

A second neglected aspect is water management. This may seem surprising, since we are dealing with 'fountains'. Yet, we have seen how the hydraulic apparatus of fountains, i.e. the set of hydro-technical components involved in the supply, display, use and drainage of water, has been almost totally ignored in the past, causing the loss of masses of information. Apart from a few early exceptions I have already mentioned, such as the Peirene at Corinth and the *nymphaeum* of Miletos, the study of hydro-technical elements has generally been limited to recording the dimensions and shape of the basin(s), the amount, location and typology of the inlets or, the presence or not of spouting statues. How water pursued its course through these different components, and how they could affect or facilitate the display and drawing of water is almost never investigated.

Due to this important shortcoming in documentation, monumental fountains never triggered the same interest amongst water archaeologists and engineers as aqueducts, intra-urban distribution systems and baths. The field of the so-called 'aqueduct studies', however, has much potential to offer a template for future fountain studies.³⁶ In the last two decades, the study of water distribution in ancient cities has developed at a fast pace, from the examination of isolated constitutive components towards the global study of urban water networks as complex functional systems. The implementation of interdisciplinary approaches, involving various disciplines such as history, epigraphy, hydrogeology, water engineering or the technical study of architecture and building materials, has allowed a 'total' view of ancient water distribution systems, from their ecological determinants to their smallest technical details, with also a keen interest for the wider social, economic and political context.³⁷ The interdisciplinary studies of the water networks of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia by Gemma C. M. Jansen³⁸ and of the waterworks of Miletos

by Gerhard Tuttahs³⁹ illustrate the way entire water supply networks can be reconstructed exhaustively and diachronically following an interdisciplinary methodology. The two monographs include detailed functional studies of public fountains: the accurate recording of every detail of their hydraulic apparatus – at least when the state of preservation of the building permits it, which is not frequent – allows reconstructing sequences of water management, which in turn can be replaced within the overall urban distribution system. Likewise, based on a collection of published hydro-technical data, I have explored the functional sequence of Roman monumental fountains in Greece, Asia Minor and the Levant and tried to assess their impact on the water distribution networks.⁴⁰ My study was strictly limited to a study of the available archaeological data and did not reach the level of quantification. Yet, when looked at from the viewpoint and methodology of hydraulic engineering – which is the case for the work done by Tuttahs on Miletos and, to a lesser extent, for certain aspects of Jansen's work – the functioning of waterworks can be both described and quantified in terms of water discharge, allowing an evaluation of the impact of these waterworks within the framework of the entire urban distribution network. Such studies open paths for future research, which will require adapted archaeological methods and an interdisciplinary focus. Beyond lies the challenge of establishing a balance between the utilitarian function of monumental fountains and their visual, representative and decorative meaning.

A third characteristic of current research is the stronger diachronic accent given to the study of the visual and utilitarian properties of monumental fountains. As detailed above, emphasis on continuity between Greek and Roman waterworks, combined with typologies freezing the evidence into rigid building types, has long hampered any long-term study of the evolution of the architectural layout, decorative components and concrete *modus operandi* of fountains. A majority of existing studies seem to consider the imperial period as an ideal end and do not investigate further the subsequent fate of newly built fountains. Studying the active preservation of existing fountains, i.e. the active maintenance or the adaptation of their architectural layout, decorative appearance and functional properties, is a promising field of research.⁴¹ Beyond a mere description of these alterations, it has the potential to address the overall evolution of the aesthetic maintenance and perception of fountain façades, as well as the functional impact of fountains within the changing conditions of late-antique urban contexts.

A side effect of this lack of interest to date in monumental fountains in the later empire is the almost complete isolation of the few known monumental fountains of Constantinople from the broader study of 'Greco-Roman fountains'.⁴² This concerns in particular two *nymphaea* allegedly built under Constantine and Valens, which are known through literary sources and, in the case of the second, associated with architectural remains of uncertain identification.⁴³ Despite the importance of their locations, on the south side of the Forum of Constantine and to the north-west of the Forum Tauri respectively, and their likely architectural opulence, the two structures remain largely unknown to specialists working on the fountains of earlier periods. They constitute, however, two of the best examples of continuity in the habit of building monumental fountains at the most conspicuous locations of ancient cities.

Towards an archaeology of monumental fountains

The study of Roman monumental fountains relies on a rich and varied corpus of material, the largest part of which was compiled at a moment when an accurate restitution of scattered architectural and decorative data was the primary aim of scholars. It seems clear that the step from a descriptive study of monumental fountains towards a wider interpretative analysis of their entire functional spectrum requires a corresponding adaptation of archaeological practice, both for the production of new data and for the critical reexamination of existing evidence.

A genuine archaeology of monumental fountains, able to tackle the various goals and potential margins of progress reviewed in the previous section, thus requires an accurate documentation of *all* significant aspects of monumental fountains. The 'traditional' recording of the architectural structure, building ornaments and statuary programmes should by no means be dismissed. These documents possess an interpretative potential beyond the level of classificatory typology. The description should, however, take the hydro-technical context better into account: this is, as we saw, a major shortcoming in many existing studies. Visual assumptions, such as how a fountain *should* appear, based on formal parallels, external typology or a supposed hierarchy among the components of the statuary programmes, should be avoided when not sufficiently supported by archaeological evidence. Only an accurate, context-bound description of architectural, statuary and epigraphic sources can form the base of any further contextualisation. I have argued

above that interrogating the various levels of initiative behind the decision to build a fountain, its funding, design and construction is crucial to avoid any interpretative bias. This contextualisation should consist of weighing in a critical manner the different levels of influence or agency potentially present in the process. Assessing the presence of empire-wide or regional architectural and decorative trends is a question to which architectural and stylistic typology still can contribute. Addressing the different levels of initiative can in turn be envisaged if the following parameters are examined: the possible influence of structures of power, from the direct intervention of imperial and provincial authorities in the building process to their passive depiction in statuary programmes or the reception of honours materialised in inscriptions; the presence of visual or written evidence revealing the involvement of urban authorities or of elements constitutive of urban identity (e.g. mythical founders, religious figures, institutions or prominent citizens); and the expression of individual identities, mainly in relation to private building sponsors, if present. A correct contextualisation will be possible if, in accordance with the available sources, such levels of discourse are weighed in terms of relative importance and the initiative ascribed to the right level.

Improving the study of water management requires the largest investment in terms of archaeological practice. It is, as argued above, the field in which the largest quantity of data has been lost or neglected in the past. The reconstitution of the entire functional sequence of a monumental fountain is dependent on its rate of preservation. Yet, the accurate observation and recording of key elements, such as the configuration, position and dimensions of the inlet(s), the size of the basin, an estimation of the original level of water based on sinter concretions (if present), the configuration of the parapet – informative of comfort and user-friendliness – and the shape and dimension of the drainage facilities, would allow a basic evaluation of the flow of water through the building (fig. 1.5). The description should also include as much quantified data as possible, a type of information largely missing – including the dimensions of basins! – in most older publications. These results can be refined by looking at additional details, such as the numerous grooves, cuttings, perforations and minor alterations that are visible on virtually every element of the hydraulic apparatus (fig. 1.6) and may reveal small-scale yet significant modifications of the water flow.⁴⁴ Finally, if enough data are available, a quantified study of the water flowing through the fountain can be attempted. Studies of this nature are lacking, although they constitute the only valid way to assess whether monumental fountains wasted huge quantities of water or whether specific strategies to conserve water were implemented, for instance under harder climatic

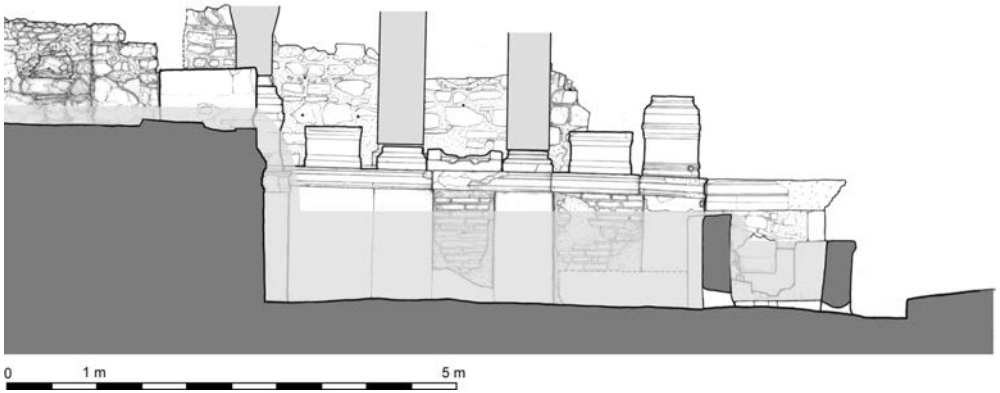


Fig 1.5. Ephesos, Nymphaeum Traiani. Cross-section with tentative indication of the flow of water through the fountain, after Quatember 2006, 76 (with permission).



Fig 1.6. Stratonikeia (Caria), Severan Nymphaeum. Negative traces of terracotta pipelines diverting water out of the main basin.

Photograph: Julian Richard.

conditions, a recent hypothesis that needs to be confirmed through more quantified data.⁴⁵

The examination of all these parameters should be undertaken within a diachronic interpretative framework. A major obstacle is the absence of evidence to date architectural and technical alterations, which cannot be correlated easily with absolute stratigraphic, stylistic or written evidence. In

recent years, the final publications of some fountains excavated earlier in the twentieth century generally provide an exhaustive overview of the evolution of architectural, decorative and technical aspects, and sometimes include a useful section on past research.⁴⁶ Only the accurate documentation of all alterations subsequent to the original building and decoration phases will allow the contextualisation of each fountain within the wider evolution of cityscapes and water distribution networks during late antiquity.⁴⁷

Tackling these various scientific issues and applying the corresponding methodology will allow the development of a real ‘archaeology of monumental fountains’, free of constraining narratives and as close as possible to the material and its context. The largest task that remains is the critical re-examination according to these goals of the material published in the past, a duty that still requires a substantial quantity of additional fieldwork. This undertaking is however highly valuable: building up critically a rich material base is the only way to allow an optimal in-depth interpretation of monumental fountains as the meeting point of technical, urban, social and political universes.

Notes

- 1 The depictions of the Septizodium by Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) and Antonio Lafreri (1512–77) and of the so-called *Trofei di Mario* – also known as the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus – by Etienne du Pérac (c.1520–1604) and Piranesi (1720–78) are well-known. On the Septizodium, see n. 2. On the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus, refer to Letzner 1990: 459–61, cat. no. 337; Longfellow 2011: 190–203.
- 2 The enduring debate on the layout of the Septizodium’s hydraulic installations results partly from the incomplete documentation of the monument at that period. These drawings remain however extremely valuable, since the last standing structures were demolished in the sixteenth century. Based on fragments of the *Forma Urbis* and on comparisons with similar buildings, many attempts have been made to reconstruct the hydraulic apparatus of the Septizodium. See Letzner 1990: 459–61, cat. no. 337; Lusnia 2004 and Longfellow 2011: 164–72 for the relevant bibliography.
- 3 Lanckoroński 1890: 98–102 (Aspendos), 139–45 (Side); 1892: 133–4 (Sagalassos).
- 4 Lanckoroński 1890: 120–4 (Aspendos); 1892: 57–60 (Termessos).
- 5 Butler 1919.
- 6 The sketches made of the early-second-century exedra fountain at Sweida in Southern Syria by William John Bankes in the early nineteenth century proved extremely valuable in reconstructing the original appearance of the building and establishing its chronology. Sartre-Fauriat 1992.

- 7 Butler 1919: 54–9 (Amman); 251–2 (Bosra); see also Brünnow and Von Domszewski 1909: 20–2, where the columns of the ‘nymphaeum’ at Bosra are interpreted as a temple or a portico. For the reviewed identification of these structures, see Ball 2000: 292–4 (Amman); Dentzer 2002: 116–21 (Bosra).
- 8 Compiled in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* published in Berlin in 1894.
- 9 Bol 1984 gives an excellent overview of the past research on the monument.
- 10 Adler 1892, Treu 1897, Dittenberg and Purgold 1896, respectively.
- 11 See Robinson 2011, who provides an exhaustive *status quaestionis* of past and recent research on this famous landmark of ancient Corinth.
- 12 Hill 1964.
- 13 Seated Nymph (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, inv. no. 127; Hülsen 1919: 57, no. 1; Mendel 1966: vol. I, 333, no. 127); standing female figure in draped dress (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, inv. no. 128. Hülsen 1919: 58, no. 5; Mendel 1966: vol. I, 333, no. 127); Satyr torso (Berlin, Pergamon Museum, inv. no. 1578. Hülsen 1919: 61–2, no. 10).
- 14 Monceaux 1877–1919: 129–32 (‘nymphaeum’); Michon 1877–1919: 1227–39 (‘fons’).
- 15 Cagnat and Chapot 1916: 104–7.
- 16 See, for example, the articles on the so-called *Fontäne* (Heberdey 1902), the *Straßenbrunnen* (Keil 1926), the Hydrekdocheion of C. Laecanius Bassus (Eichler 1961, 1963; R. Fleischer 1972–3; Fossel and Langmann 1972–3), the *Pollio-Bau* (Bammer 1976–7; Miltner 1959; 1960), the *Apsisbrunnen* (Miltner 1960) and the Nymphaeum Traiani (Miltner 1959).
- 17 Concerning the nymphaea at Perge, the detailed articles of the excavation director Arif Müfid Mansel remain the principal source of information: Mansel 1956; 1963; 1964; 1975a/b.
- 18 For an earlier example of this lack of interest in the later evolution of public fountains, see Humann 1904: 137, concerning the alterations made to the basin of the Hellenistic fountain-house at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, attributed to *Byzantinischer Zeit* without more details. See also Robinson 2011: 74–7 on the removal of Byzantine wall structures during the excavations of the Peirene at Corinth.
- 19 Large architectural syntheses such as Meschini 1963 and Neuerburg 1965 place an exaggerated emphasis on the use of the term ‘nymphaeum’, which designated the original cultic, grotto-like installations devoted to the worship of the Nymphs. This priority given to this ancient terminology results in an artificial, linear classification of the buildings to which this terminology has successively been applied, ranging from the primitive grottos to urban monumental fountains, seen as the last step of this evolution.
- 20 Crema 1959; Meschini 1963; Parra 1976.
- 21 On the East–West division in the study of Roman architecture, see E. V. Thomas 2010.
- 22 Hülsen 1919: 86; Meschini 1963: 510; Mansel 1963: 63; Ginouvès 1969: 154–5 (including the above-mentioned wrongly identified ‘nymphaeum’ of Amman, used as comparison!).

- 23 The fountain of Side was used at some point to reconstruct the elevation of the Septizodium. Hülsen 1919: 86. Recently, Longfellow 2011: 180–1, postulated a direct influence of the Septizodium upon the nymphaeum at Side. Lusnia 2004: 524–5, however, supports the idea of influence in the opposite direction.
- 24 The dating of the aqueduct fixes a *terminus post quem* in the Antonine period for the construction of the nymphaeum (Grewe 1994). The latter is assigned to the reign of Caracalla *at the latest*, based on the earliest inscription found in the ruins (Nollé 1993: 82–3; Dori-Klingenschmid 2001: 244), although its excavator, Mansel, assigned it to the Antonine period on stylistic grounds (Mansel 1956: 85–90; 1963: 63–4). I tend to privilege the early dating, since a branch of the second-century aqueduct directly supplied the fountain. Even if influence from the Roman Septizodium cannot be totally excluded, this hypothesis remains based on a strict formal comparison and cannot be supported by any other argument.
- 25 Ginouvès 1969. The study of Greek fountains by Franz Glaser in 1983 is comparable, though less dependent on terminology (Glaser 1983). The main classification criteria used by Glaser are the type of ground plan and the layout of the elevation. His study remains one of the main sources on the architecture of Greek fountains.
- 26 Meschini 1963; Glaser 1987.
- 27 S. Walker 1979, with excerpts published in S. Walker 1987.
- 28 Agusta-Boularot 2001.
- 29 Dori-Klingenschmid 2001.
- 30 The much-quoted study of William L. MacDonald, who studied the architectural dynamics articulating Roman urban centres (MacDonald 1986) remains up to this day one of the most exhaustive analyses of the visual potential of fountain façades.
- 31 Longfellow 2011.
- 32 Richard 2011a.
- 33 Richard 2011b; viewpoint similar to the study of Barbara Burrell on the representation of emperors in Roman bathing complexes (Burrell 2006).
- 34 Eck 2007.
- 35 See for instance Revell 2009.
- 36 The expression ‘aqueduct studies’ is inspired by the title of a monograph, Hodge 1992.
- 37 On this general perspective, see Shaw 1991; Kamash 2010. The series of publications issued by the *Frontinus Gesellschaft*, the proceedings of the *Cura Aquarum* conferences, and the fourth issue of *Water History* (2012) together provide an excellent and comprehensive overview of current debates in the field.
- 38 Jansen 2002.
- 39 Tuttahs 2007.
- 40 Richard 2012.

- 41 Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, although she only devoted a few pages to the typology of fountains in Asia Minor in late antiquity, opened the way. For a broad perspective on the aesthetic and technical maintenance of monumental fountains in the eastern Mediterranean during late antiquity, see Jacobs and Richard 2012.
- 42 Cf. the similar comment on the low representation of the supply lines of Constantinople in general publications on Roman aqueducts in Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 1.
- 43 The nymphaeum allegedly built by Constantine is mentioned in Cedrenus, 1.610.14, Zonaras, 3.125.5, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (233, Region V) and in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.49. See also Bauer 1996: 171; Bassett 2004: 29, 70 and Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 127, n. 11, who support a dating in the last quarter of the fourth century AD for the fountain. The *Hydreion Megistos* built in AD 372–3 is mentioned in Cedrenus, 1.543.16, Valens Socrates, OG 67, 477A and in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (238, Region X). See also Bauer 1996: 193, 195–6; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 127–8, 225, 229, 230. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* cites two more nymphaea in Regions IV and XIV. See the introduction to this volume.
- 44 Jacobs and Richard 2012; Richard 2012: 141–54.
- 45 Kamash 2010: 112–19; Richard 2012: 172–6.
- 46 Negrelli 2004 (a new study of the Byzantine phase of the Fountain of Caracalla at Laodikeia); Mägele, Richard and Waelkens 2007 (late Hadrianic Nymphaeum at Sagalassos); Quatember 2008 (Straßenbrunnen at Ephesos); Quatember 2006; 2011 (Nymphaeum Traiani at Ephesos).
- 47 See in that respect the integration of data on public fountains in the general article on the evolution of the urban landscape of Ephesos from the third to the seventh century AD by Ladstätter and Pülz 2007.

2 | Monumental waterworks in late antique Constantinople

PAUL STEPHENSON AND RAGNAR HEDLUND

A good deal less is known about the water supply of Roman Constantinople than is known about the supply of water to other Roman cities such as Pompeii and Ostia, for which there is much material evidence, as there is for Rome itself. For Rome there is also the detailed information in the *De aquis urbis Romae*, written by Frontinus, the *curator aquarum* of Rome towards the year AD 100. Rome was furnished with a suite of aqueducts constructed over five centuries, which carried fresh water to the city's *castella aquae*, main storage tanks, from which it was distributed to smaller *castella* to be piped to ornate public fountains known as *nymphaea*, into baths (*thermae*), private homes or factories, or to other, smaller fountains (*fontes*) and basins for public consumption and display. Thanks to Frontinus, but also to the centripetal force of the great city, general studies of ancient waterworks tend to dwell on Rome itself and its monumental waterworks, notably the aqueducts, but also the fountains. According to Bono and Boni, in the fourth century AD 'the large monuments of Rome supplied by aqueducts are estimated to include: 11 large baths, 856 public baths, 15 monumental fountains, 1352 fountains (*nimpheos*) and basins, and 2 *naumachiae* (naval battle basins)'.¹

Just two imperial monumental fountains are highlighted here, to draw a contrast between Rome and what we know of Constantinople: the Septizodium and the Meta Sudans. The Septizodium was Rome's most spectacular *nymphaeum*. A 95-metre-long structure, the façade was comprised of three colonnaded storeys reaching nearly 30 metres in height, mimicking a Roman stage structure. Renaissance sketches, such as that by Antonio Lafreri (see fig. 1.1), suggest a close resemblance to monumental fountains at Miletos and Side, and on a scale far larger than the impressive remains of *nymphaea* at Aspendos (fig. 2.1) and Perge (fig. 2.2). Septimius Severus placed this fountain at the south-east corner of the Palatine hill and the terminus of the Via Appia. Its name suggests it featured depictions of the planetary gods, besides a colossal sculpture of Severus himself, perhaps with attributes of the sun god Sol. Excavations during the 1980s elucidated the structure, notably elements of its sculptural programme. A fragment of a river god reclining on a feline beast, possibly a tiger, has

been identified as the Tigris, suggesting a composition celebrating Severus' victories in Parthia, and therefore a date of completion around AD 202.² The Septizodium was one of the most ambitious of the many architectural projects undertaken under the Severan emperors.³ Others included the massive baths of Caracalla and the 'trofei di Mario', a monumental *nymphaeum* on the Esquiline usually attributed to Alexander Severus,⁴ who also rebuilt the Baths of Nero on the Campus Martius.⁵ These were followed by the Baths of Decius on the Aventine, of Diocletian on the Esquiline, and of Constantine on the Quirinal.⁶

The Meta Sudans, the 'sweating pole', was a large conical fountain. Taking the form of a baetyl, a stone sacred to Apollo and his cognates, recent excavations directed by Clementina Panella have revealed it to be an Augustan construction. Subsumed into Nero's development of the Domus Aurea, the fountain was replaced in conscious imitation of the original by the Flavians.⁷ This new Meta Sudans appears alongside their new amphitheatre on coins issued by the sons of Vespasian: by Titus in AD 80–1, and for the first two years of his reign by Domitian (AD 81–3). When the Flavian Amphitheatre, damaged by lightning and fire in AD 217, was restored by Alexander Severus, he issued coins once again showing the Colosseum and the Meta Sudans, although the latter appears not to have been damaged or restored. The fountain had become a symbol for



Fig 2.1 Roman monumental fountain or *nymphaeum* at Aspendos, Turkey.
Photograph: Paul Stephenson.



Fig 2.2. Roman monumental fountain at Perge, Turkey.
Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

Rome and a cognate itself for Apollo. Indeed, the baetyl was venerated as Apollo at various provincial shrines, including at Nikopolis in Epiros, where Augustus had raised the city and temple to thank Apollo for his victory at Actium.⁸

The Meta Sudans was aligned with the central archway of the Arch of Titus, and therefore, in the fourth century, it was adjacent to the Arch of Constantine. Constantine, following his victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312, restored and enlarged the fountain as part of his appropriation and elaboration of Maxentius' Roman building projects.⁹ Just as the Flavians had restored Rome for the people after the excesses attributed to Nero, so Constantine had freed the citizens from a tyrant and erased his legacy from the cityscape.¹⁰ Constantine's enlargement and elaboration of the Meta Sudans, a Flavian monument, bolstered his claims to be descended from that dynasty, and insofar as it was known originally to have been Augustan, it may also have appealed to this latest rebuilder of the ancient city. When he marched his army in triumph through Rome in 315, Constantine's route would have passed the Meta Sudans and the Septizodium, which both stood on the Via Triumphalis.¹¹ Enlarging the Meta Sudans therefore also can be read as an element in staging Constantine's Roman *triumphus*.

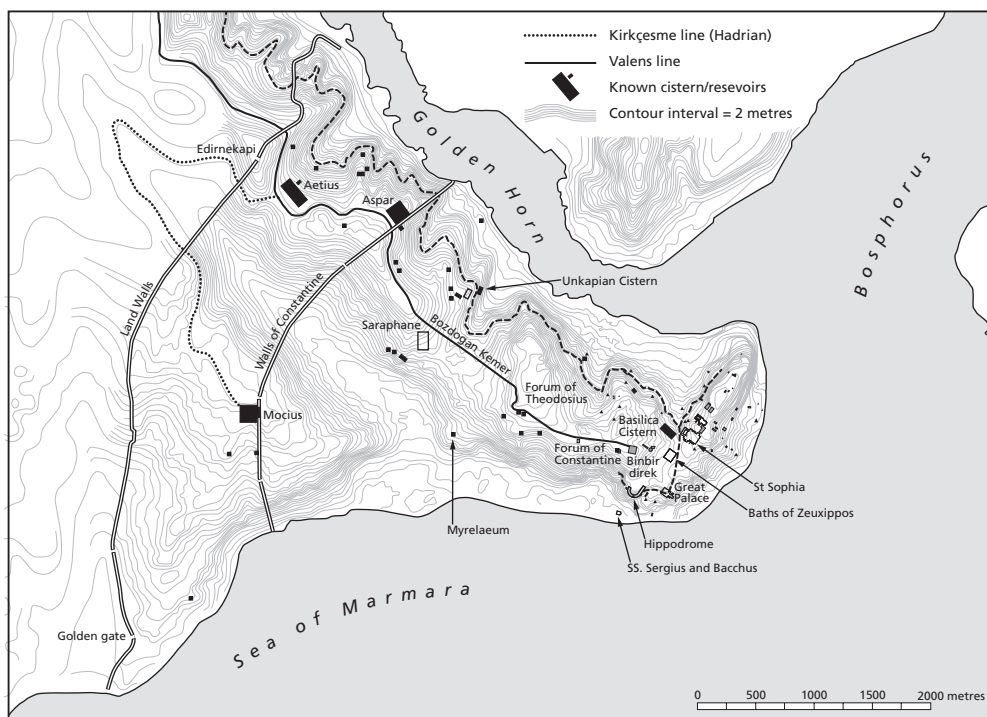
Early waterworks in Byzantion–Constantinople

There is no evidence that Constantine ordered either the construction of a façade fountain or of a conical or columnar fountain at the heart of his own victory city, Constantinople. Nothing has been identified from the first half of the fourth century in Constantinople that we might compare to the Meta Sudans or to the Septizodium. It has been suggested, but not demonstrated, that Constantine began the construction of a bath-complex near his future mausoleum.¹² The absence of monumental waterworks in Constantine's Constantinople is remarkable, given how closely elements of his new city echoed those in the city of Rome, ostentatiously in emulation of Augustus, the Flavians and especially the Severans. It was to Septimius Severus and his heirs that many public works in pre-Constantinian Byzantion were later attributed, including the Baths of Kaminia. This attribution, like others, is surely a fiction, as the baths that supposedly could accommodate 2,000 bathers would have been located outside the limit of the third-century city. Gilbert Dagron has established that attributions to the Severans in Constantinople should probably be seen as the work of Constantine's own propaganda.¹³

The absence of waterworks that can firmly be attributed to Constantine is to be explained partly by our ignorance of what he built and partly by the fact that the supply of fresh, flowing water was limited in Constantinople before the supply was improved later in the fourth century (map 1). The city is surrounded on three sides by seawater, and its freshwater supply came exclusively from the European hinterland. The River Lykos supplied only a limited area of the city, and did not reach the area that was most heavily populated prior to the third century, namely the region of the acropolis, later Constantinople's first hill, which today is dominated by the Topkapı Palace complex. That is not to suggest that it was unimportant as the city grew, since a good amount of industry was later located in the Lykos valley, notably to the south of the river between the Theodosian and Constantinian walls. The river flowed into the sea at the site of the Theodosian Harbour, where it does today, now as a subterranean channel (fig. 2.3). The Roman water delivery system relied upon the ability to maintain height, so that water might flow from a greater height to lower points of distribution. An aqueduct built by Hadrian for Byzantion was able to supply water to locations that lay at 30 metres above sea level or lower. As the highest region of the ancient city, the acropolis or first hill was poorly served. However, to the east of the first hill, at a lower level,

the Baths of Achilleus (probably built under Hadrian), were supplied. Additionally, that part of the city which developed most extensively in the late third to fourth centuries, between the first and second hills, was supplied by the Hadrianic line. Key sites that lay at around 30 metres elevation include the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, and the Baths of Zeuxippos, the last large bathing complex adjacent to the new imperial palace and the Hippodrome.

The origins of these baths are obscure and even the name is mysterious. Some sources associate the name with the deity Zeus Hippios, for whom a temple had been dedicated on the nearby acropolis.¹⁴ Another explanation, presented by John Lydos, links the name to a king: the baths would have been built on the site of his palace.¹⁵ A third explanation seems most interesting as it tells us something more explicit about the founding of the bath. John Malalas and, following him, the *Chronicon Paschale*, explain that there was a tetrastoon on the location where the baths were built; on this tetrastoon there was a statue of Sol, and on the base of this statue, the name Zeus Hippios was inscribed, as this was the name for a deity venerated in



Map 1. Plan of the topography and water channels in Byzantine Constantinople, drawn by Richard Bayliss (with permission).



Fig 2.3. Subterranean freshwater stream, thought to be the River Lykos, flowing into the site of the Theodosian Harbour (Yenikapi, Istanbul).

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

this region.¹⁶ As the city grew, the Baths of Zeuxippos were furnished with statues, columns and other precious marbles.¹⁷

For reasons to which we have already alluded, several Byzantine sources, all drawing on the same tradition, attribute the construction of the Baths of Zeuxippos to Severus.¹⁸ Possibly for lack of meaningful alternatives, the dating to the Severan age has generally been accepted in modern scholarship.¹⁹ However, comparative evidence suggests we look later. As we have noted, a number of large bath-complexes were built in the city of Rome during the third century. The Baths of Zeuxippos were probably smaller than the enormous bath-complexes built under Caracalla and Diocletian, as well as the earlier Baths of Trajan on the Esquiline.²⁰ However, the area where the Baths of Zeuxippos were located would correspond more closely to the dimensions of the smaller but luxurious Baths of Decius and of Constantine. Considering the sculptural display for which the Baths of Zeuxippos became famous – Kedrenos describes the baths as a sort of

museum²¹ – the comparison with the Baths of Decius and of Constantine in Rome would make sense. Furthermore, the dimensions of the Baths of Zeuxippos seem to correspond to imperial bathing establishments in Trier and Milan. These were constructed during the last decades of the third century and the first of the fourth century, as new imperial residences were established in cities such as Trier, Milan and Thessalonike. In these cities hippodromes and baths were key components of the imperial presence. This evidence suggests an alternative dating for the Baths of Zeuxippos to the last decades of the third century.²²

Improving the water delivery system: aqueducts and cisterns

From the middle of the fourth century the picture becomes clearer. In 357, the orator Themistios provided a list of the public works of Constantius II in Constantinople, which included completed *nymphaea* and a new bathing-complex named for his father, which he began in 345 but which was not completed until 427.²³ Before this a second higher water line had entered the city in 373, the reign of Valens. Flowing from Thrace, the water passed through channels and aqueducts that crossed the countryside circuitously, with channels totalling some 268 kilometres. It terminated in the famous viaduct of the Aqueduct of Valens, today's Bozdoğan Kemer, which surmounts the valley between the city's fourth and third hills. The waters flowed thence into a new Great Nymphaeum (*nymphaeum maius*, *hydreion megiston*) at the Forum Tauri, where the Forum of Theodosios would shortly afterwards be built.²⁴ The completion of the high water line, able to supply locations at an elevation of c.56 metres or lower, was reported upon succinctly by Jerome: 'Klearchos, eparch of the city of Constantinople, is well known, by whom the necessary water which was daily awaited with vows is brought to the community.'²⁵ Again, Themistios was on hand to praise the undertaking more lavishly, alluding to the arrival of water nymphs, whose 'names are Thracian and manly, but their beauty and splendour are extremely delicate.'²⁶ Eventually this high line comprised almost 500 kilometres of channels, with expansions at the supply end and extension, certainly before AD 450, from the Forum of Theodosios to the Forum of Constantine.

The arrival of the 'necessary water' left a lasting impression, and Sokrates Scholastikos elaborated upon Jerome's remark around a half-century later:

Where the aqueduct reached the city, Klearchos, who was then eparch of the city, built a very large reservoir called 'Plentiful Water' in what is today called the Forum

of Theodosios; on this account the city celebrated a great festival, whereby there was, they say, the fulfilment of the words of the oracle: 'Their mystic dance with watery feet, shall tread through proud Byzantium's stately street.'²⁷

The great reservoir, 'Plentiful Water', otherwise known as the Great Nymphaeum, was joined before 425 by three other *nymphaea*. The *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* lists four *nymphaea*, one each in regions IV, V, X and XIV. The Great Nymphaeum lay at the south-eastern edge of region X, a large district, which stretched from the Constantinian walls to the Forum of Theodosius, bordered on the north by the Golden Horn. Regions V and IV sat to the north of the new imperial complex, whose major landmarks were the Great Palace (region I) and Hippodrome (region III) and west of the acropolis and Hagia Sophia (region II). Region XIV may have comprised the large area now between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls.²⁸ The *Notitia* also records, in addition to eight large public *thermae*, 153 private baths (*balnea privata*), with at least five in each of the fourteen regions of the city, attesting to the increased capacity and reach afforded by the expanded water delivery network. An imperial edict of c.440, preserved in the *Codex Iustinianus* (11.43.6), specifies that water from the Hadrianic line should henceforth be used only for the public baths and imperial buildings, suggesting that the Valens line was to supply most other demands. Private encroachments on the public supply were to be resisted and reversed. An edict of Zeno (474–91) commanded the eparch of the city, Sporacius, to undertake a 'careful investigation of fountains which were originally public, as well as those which, derived from private sources, later became public and then have been converted to the use of private individuals'.²⁹ The prohibition was reiterated in an edict issued by the same emperor, now to a certain Pentius, who was charged with supervising the 'water guards' (*hydrophylakes*) who prevent anyone from diverting water from the 'smaller aqueducts [i.e. water channels] or the public fountains that flow into them'.³⁰

Maintaining the water delivery system

By the middle years of the sixth century, before plague ravaged the city and decimated its population, Constantinople would have demanded, and been supplied with, perhaps five times more water than industrial Paris in 1900. The thirst for water was extraordinary, perhaps half a million cubic metres per day, Cyril Mango has observed.³¹ The city's water lines supplied several large outdoor reservoirs and many more underground cisterns, of

which more than 150 have been identified. The oldest large cistern, named Modestos for the Eparch of Constantinople who oversaw its construction in 363–9, predated the Valens line. The three vast open-air reservoirs, those of Aetios (420/1), Aspar (459) and Mokios (499/500, or 514/15) that supplied the majority of the city's inhabitants, were constructed outside the walls established by Constantine but within those added by Theodosios II in AD 413.³² Water stored in the open-air cisterns was topped off with rainwater and was generally far less clean. Therefore, in normal circumstances it was probably destined for agricultural or industrial uses, or for baths and display purposes. Fresher water suitable for drinking would be stored underground, where it could be kept cooler and sufficiently aerated. Emperor Anastasios, who had the Mokios reservoir built, also had a cold cistern installed in the vaults of the Hippodrome, beneath the so-called Sphendone. In the sixth century, the city's most famous surviving cisterns were built, the Basilica Cistern, today's Yerebatan Sarayı, which was at a low enough elevation to be supplied by the Hadrianic line, and the so-called Binbirdirek, which received water from the Valens line.³³ However, cisterns were built through the Byzantine centuries, occasionally converting older buildings for the storage of water, for example the incorporation of a fifth-century rotunda as a cistern beneath Romanos I's new compound, the Myrelaion, today's Bodrum Camii ('Cistern Mosque').³⁴

Exactly how water entered and left the city's many water storage facilities remains unclear, although it did so in abundance to supply nearby buildings and fountains through terracotta and lead pipes.³⁵ Large marble water pipes were discovered in 1964 beneath what was the Mese, Constantinople's central street, carrying the water at pressure between the Forum Tauri and the Forum of Constantine (fig. 2.4).³⁶ In late antiquity, officials known as 'water-guards' (*hydrophylakes*) were charged with overseeing and maintaining the flow of water to and through the city, and those through whose land the water channels passed were obliged by law to keep them clean and maintained, in return for which they were spared any further financial imposition by the state.³⁷ This system, however, does not appear to have survived into the Byzantine period. There were major and lasting disruptions to Constantinople's water supply in the seventh century, including the severing of the Valens line during the Avar siege of 626, but these appear to have been overcome before the end of the eighth century. In 765/6, according to *Theophanes*, Constantine V despatched 1,000 masons, 200 plasterers, 500 clay-workers, 200 brick-makers and 5,000 labourers to restore the aqueduct: 'He set taskmasters over them, including one of the patricians. When the work was completed water again flowed into the city.'³⁸ After this

maintaining and administering the water supply system appears to have become increasingly an imperial prerogative. For example, John Skylitzes reports that Basil II ‘renovated the aqueduct of the emperor Valentinian [i.e. Valens] to provide the citizens of Constantinople with a plentiful supply of water’, and also that in 1034, Romanos III ‘renovated the ducts that bring water into the city and also the cisterns that receive the water’.³⁹ A ‘Count of the Waters’ (*komes hydaton*) seems to have operated out of the imperial bureau of taxation and revenue, and in 1071 an elevated officer known as Chamberlain of the Waters (*logothetes ton hydaton*), the *protovestis* Basil Maleses, was appointed by Romanos IV.⁴⁰ There is no indication that the responsibilities of these grandees were limited to Constantinople, however, and one must imagine that the city government, under the Eparch of the City, had a role to play in the everyday maintenance of the supply, storage and distribution of water in medieval Constantinople. Moreover, the oversight of the counts and chamberlains of the waters proved to be inadequate outside the city’s walls, and by around 1170 it was determined that the Valens line was beyond repair. According to John Kinnamos, Manuel I ‘carefully cleaned the channels when a dearth of water beset’ Constantinople, but he was unable to rebuild the collapsed arcades that had conveyed the waters from Thrace. Henceforth the city relied once more on the lower, Hadrianic



Fig 2.4. Large marble water pipes, discovered in 1964 beneath what was the Mese, Constantinople’s central street, Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

line, supplemented with additional sources, probably from the Forest of Belgrade.⁴¹

What remains of Constantinople's monumental waterworks?

What, then, besides the grand baths and towering aqueduct, were the landmark monuments to water in late antique Constantinople? The cisterns survive in greatest number. These were strikingly different to those of Rome, built in brick with columns and capitals of Proconnesian marble supporting their roofs.⁴² These were not regularly visible to the general population, however, so were not equivalents of the older Rome's Meta Sudans and Septizodium. We might conjecture that the Great Nymphaeum that received the waters of the Valens line was New Rome's Septizodium, built on a grand scale with an ornate façade. However, no trace of this structure has yet been found. The same problem hinders a search for cognates of the Meta Sudans, since most of the statuary and monuments brought from across the Roman Empire to adorn and distinguish Constantinople have been destroyed or lost. However, several of those objects that have survived certainly served as fountains and others are reported to have been fountains by reliable witnesses.

In the Augusteion, a very tall column that supported an equestrian statue of Justinian appears to have been plumbed. Giovan-Maria Angiolello, writing in the 1470s, reports that 'at the base [of the column] is a delightful fountain, which jets the sweetest water into a basin from three metal spouts.'⁴³ According to Pierre Gilles, writing in 1544, when the column was stripped down to its base he 'observed a spring to spout up with pipes into a large cistern. At present there stands in the same place a water-house and the pipes are enlarged.'⁴⁴ Gilles also has the distinction of having discovered the Basilica Cistern, into which locals had sunk wells, but about whose origins they had displayed no antiquarian interest.⁴⁵ In the decade after the equestrian statue of Justinian was erected, walking from the Augusteion to enter the grounds of the newly built Hagia Sophia, one would have seen in the centre of the atrium an ablution fountain carved from Carian (Iasian) red marble, with a spurting bronze *strobilion*. Paul the Silentiary, in his sixth-century ekphrasis on Hagia Sophia (vv. 590–611), declared that its burbling stream of water 'drives away all suffering, when the people, in the month of the golden vestments [i.e. January], at God's mystic feast [Epiphany], draw by night the unsullied waters in vessels.'⁴⁶ In the fabulous

ninth-century *Diegesis* on the construction of Hagia Sophia, the same fountain is described with two more water features attributed to Justinian.

In the atrium he made twelve conduits and stone lions that spouted water for the ablutions of the common people. On the right-hand side of the right women's gallery he made a pool in which water collected to the depth of one span and a gangway for the priests to walk over the pool. Facing the pool he set up a cistern of rain water and he carved twelve lions, twelve leopards, twelve deer, twelve eagles, twelve hares, twelve calves and twelve crows, out of whose throats water flowed by means of a mechanism for the ablution of priests alone. He called this place Leontarion.⁴⁷

Excavations suggest that an atrium ablution fountain (*louter* or *phiale*, also words for 'atrium') was a regular feature of basilica churches built in Constantinople from the fifth century onwards, including those at St John Stoudios, at the North Church at the Kalenderhane site,⁴⁸ and the so-called Saray Basilica, discovered below the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.⁴⁹

A cursory glance at the few surviving monuments in the Hippodrome, today's Atmeydanı, suggests that the Theodosian and Masonry Obelisks and the serpentine bronze column, once the Plataian Tripod, were all plumbed to expel water. Water was certainly a fundamental element of the Hippodrome's decoration from its conception. The central median of the Hippodrome was called in Latin the *spina*, but was generally known by its Greek name, *euripos*, after the water channel between Attika and Euboea. The obelisks and Serpent Column appear to have stood between the basins rather than raised upon the *euripos*.

Excavations carried out in 1927 and 1928 along the axis of the Hippodrome revealed many water conduits, including directly beneath the obelisks and Serpent Column. According to Stanley Casson, the director of excavations for Oxford University and the British Academy, a trench large enough to admit a man ran beneath the Masonry Obelisk, also called the 'Column of the Porphyrogenitus', which would have allowed for the drilling and plumbing of the base (fig. 2.5). It is drilled along its vertical axis, under which the man-sized tunnel ran, and has four intersecting horizontal drillings that meet at the vertical axis, and which were fitted with lead pipes 'of a type often used in Byzantine buildings'.

This at once made it clear that the monolithic pedestal served as a four-spouted fountain. The excavation outside the podium on the north-west produced, at the level of the podium itself, fragments of loose mosaic, and it seems possible that there were basins of mosaic into which the water fell.⁵⁰



Fig 2.5. Base of the Masonry Obelisk in the Hippodrome, drilled and plumbed to serve as a fountain.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

We know less about the Theodosian Obelisk, as excavations at its base were not so extensive. However, Casson reported finding a ‘water conduit of small dimensions ... [that] was identical in type and size with that at the “Column of Porphyrogenitus”, and like it [ran] exactly along the axis’. It is clear that the Theodosian Obelisk also served as a fountain, and this was explored by F. Krauss shortly after Casson’s excavations (fig. 2.6).⁵¹ The only stamped lead water pipe yet discovered in Constantinople, a one-metre-long fistula, was discovered inside the Serpent Column.⁵² It is possible that many of the statues placed on the *euripos* were attached to or associated with pipes spurting water.⁵³ One example may be representative. Throughout the Byzantine period, from as early as the fourth century until its destruction in 1204, a bronze Skylla group stood in the Hippodrome, almost certainly in one of the water basins. The narrow strip of water would appear to be an appropriate location for a beast held to have dominated the straits of Messina. Since no trace of the Skylla group survives, we cannot prove that it served as a fountain, but it is worth pondering because it has recently been suggested that the Skylla was brought to Constantinople from Corinth, where it had stood for at least two centuries within a fountain basin.⁵⁴

The same excavations around the area of the Hippodrome in 1927–8 revealed structures that have usually been identified as remains of the Baths



Fig 2.6. Base of the Theodosian Obelisk in the Hippodrome, modified to create a water feature.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

of Zeuxippos.⁵⁵ The investigations revealed the remains of two structures. One of them ('building 1') was interpreted as a building with piers supporting a vault. The earliest of the four main building phases discerned in this building was deemed to be 'early, very probably of Roman date'.⁵⁶ These had then been destroyed and rebuilt at a later date. This evidence alone suggested the identification as the Baths of Zeuxippos, which were claimed to have been destroyed during the Nika riots in AD 532 and then rebuilt under Justinian.⁵⁷ Moreover, water conduits and other sculptural finds fitting for a bath context were also found.⁵⁸ Finds from excavations undertaken in 1952 further west revealed further walls identified by Mamboury as parts of the same structure.⁵⁹

A second structure ('building 2') found in 1927–8 comprised a courtyard, which featured an apse and a colonnade. Here, too, several building phases were identified; it was concluded that 'the early work is Roman and that the later belongs to a Byzantine reconstruction on the same plan'.⁶⁰ Under the pavement of this court there was an earlier, similar pavement on which a silver coin struck for the emperor Hadrian was found.⁶¹ The most conclusive finds, however, were three statue bases of which two were inscribed with the names Hecuba and Aischines, statues which are both mentioned by Christodoros of Koptos in his ekphrasis on the statues of

the baths (fig. 2.7).⁶² These finds, the location of the structures near the Hippodrome, and the character of the walls all make the identification as the Baths of Zeuxippos seem secure.⁶³ The chronology of the structures, however, remains vague. The walls, as noted, were only provided with a very



Fig 2.7. Statue base from the Baths of Zeuxippos, Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

general date; the coin of Hadrian provides one indication, but it was found in a context that may have preceded the baths, perhaps a building that was later incorporated into the baths. The statue bases, further, were dated (with some hesitation) to AD 450–500. However, they were not found *in situ*, and at least one of them had been reused as a pavement or step.⁶⁴ Thus, the archaeological material does not provide any precise datings.

Looking more closely at the evidence, however, we find that it allows for some further observations on the genesis of the bathing-complex and its general appearance. Bassett and Yegül both observe that the model for the Baths of Zeuxippos were baths in cities such as Miletos and Aphrodisias, where complexes included large rectangular exercise grounds. They therefore consider ‘building 1’, as described above, to be a part of the Zeuxippos complex, occupying the trapezoidal space between the Hippodrome and the Mese, and ‘building 2’ to be part of a portico to the east of it.⁶⁵ This reconstruction would also correspond with the finds from excavations undertaken in 1952 further west, when additional walls and basins belonging to a bath were found during construction works along the Hippodrome.⁶⁶

The interpretation of Bassett and Yegül further fits nicely with the evidence from a few Byzantine texts.⁶⁷ First, the ekphrasis of Christodoros of Koptos actually refers to a gymnasium of Zeuxippos.⁶⁸ Second, as already mentioned, Malalas explicitly states that the tetrastoon where the statue of Zeus Hippios stood was included by Severus in the baths.⁶⁹ Third, a text from the *Codex Iustinianus* mentions *officinae* in ‘the porticoes of Zeuxippos’.⁷⁰ Finally, the coin struck for Hadrian found on the earlier pavement of the courtyard may be read to support Malalas’ observation that the courtyard was an older structure, which was only later incorporated in the baths. To sum up, there are many indications, although none is individually compelling, that when taken together suggest an increasing imperial presence in the city of Byzantion in the last decades of the third century AD; and the archaeological record from the Baths of Zeuxippos is consistent with the development in this period of a bath, partly reutilising older structures, to serve as a new monumental meeting point in a developing imperial cityscape.

Notes

- 1 Bono and Boni 1996: 132, which continues: ‘According to Frontino [writing significantly earlier, in the late first century AD], water consumption included: 17.2% by the emperor; 38.6% by citizens; and 44.2% by public services.’

- 2 LTUR IV, 269–72; Lusnia 2004.
- 3 It could be noted that the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta* records two additional baths built in Rome by Septimius Severus: the *Thermae Septimianae* (HA Severus 19.5), in the Trastevere area and the *Thermae Severianae* (HA Severus 9.5) assumed to have been located south of the Baths of Caracalla; see LTUR V, 64. No traces of either bath have been identified.
- 4 For the Baths of Caracalla, see LTUR V, 42–8; for the nymphaeum of Alexander Severus, see LTUR III, 351–2.
- 5 LTUR V, 60–2.
- 6 For the Baths of Decius, see LTUR V, 51–3; the Baths of Diocletian, LTUR V, 53–8; the Baths of Constantine, LTUR V, 49–51.
- 7 Longfellow 2010: 275–9; for detailed descriptions of the excavations of the Meta Sudans, see LTUR III, 247–9 and Zeggio and Pardini 2007.
- 8 Longfellow 2010: 279–90; Longfellow 2011: 37–49.
- 9 Zeggio 1996; LTUR III, 248. See also more generally Cullhed 1994, and other works consulted and listed at Stephenson 2009: 141–66, 332–5.
- 10 Marlowe 2004: 44–5.
- 11 Marlowe 2006, explores the relationships between various monuments mentioned here and others, notably a colossal statue of Sol and the Arch of Constantine.
- 12 For an overview, see Janin 1964: 216–19 and more recently Yegül 2008: 180–3; for sources, see Unger 1878: 269–79.
- 13 One of the problems is that Herodian (3.1.7) claims to have seen the city still in ruins. See Dagron 1974: 13–19; Berger 1997a: 412; Mango 2004: 19; Stephenson 2009: 193. Bassett 2000: 18–26 is not sufficiently critical on this point.
- 14 Patria 1.37.
- 15 Lydos, *Mag.* 3.70
- 16 Malalas 12.20; *Chron. Pasch.* 494.
- 17 Malalas 13.8; *Chron. Pasch.* 529–30. For an overview, see Dagron 1974: 32–3; more recently, Berger 2011: 110–19.
- 18 Malalas 12.18–20; *Chron. Pasch.* 494–5; Lydos, *Mag.* 3.57; Patria 1.37; Suda, s.v. Severos; Kedrenos, *Hist. Comp.* 1.648. For an overview, see Guillard 1966: 261–2.
- 19 See Janin 1964: 222–3; Guillard 1966: 261; Müller-Wiener 1977: 51; Bassett 2000: 51; Mango 2004: 19, 26.
- 20 See LTUR V, 67–9.
- 21 Kedrenos, *Hist. Comp.* 1.647–8.
- 22 Berger has argued that the archaeological record from the Hippodrome, with the absence of finds from the third century, indicates a later date of construction than that stated in the sources; other than that, as seen above, no evidence directly supports this dating. See Berger 1997a: 359 and 412–13, followed by Stephenson 2009: 19. Also Mayer 2002: 31–47.
- 23 Themistios, *Oratio* 4.59b–61d, cited by Dagron 1984: 89–90.

- 24 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 127.
- 25 Jerome, *Chronicle* s.a. 373, quoted in translation at Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 225. Also cited at Dagron 1984: 248–9, who refers to a rather later reference written in Rome, by Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, ed. Mommsen, *Chron. min.* 2.153.
- 26 Themistios, *Oratio* 11.151c, quoted in translation from Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 224.
- 27 Sokrates Scholatikos 4.8. In Schaff's translation, ὑδρεῖον μέγιστον is rendered as 'a stately bath', whereas we follow Dagron 1984: 249, in identifying a reservoir or cistern.
- 28 *Notitia*, ed. Seeck 1876: 229–43. See also Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 127; Drakoulis 2012. However, Mango 2002 has argued that region XIV was the town of Rhegion (Regium), which although at some distance from the walls of Constantinople was regarded administratively as part of the city, in a manner similar to Sykai (Pera).
- 29 *Codex Iustinianus* 11.42.9. See Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 231.
- 30 *Codex Iustinianus* 11.42.10; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 231.
- 31 Mango 1995.
- 32 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 15–17, 128–32. The Mokios reservoir is located in such a place that it cannot have been supplied directly either by the Hadrianic or Valens lines, as established by Crow and his team, and as such it is posited that it was supplied by a branch from the Valens line.
- 33 Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893: 54–5, 56–7.
- 34 Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893: 58–9; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 125, 138, 148.
- 35 See Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 142–3; Crow 2012; and Gerda de Kleijn in this volume.
- 36 Müller-Wiener 1977: 303, 305; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 142.
- 37 *Codex Iustinianus* 11.42.10; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 231.
- 38 *Theophanes*, AM 6528, ed. de Boor 1883–5, 440; tr. Mango and Scott 1997, 608. See Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 19–20, 236. See also Paul Magdalino's chapter in this volume.
- 39 Skylitzes, tr. Wortley 2010: 346, 367. See Crow 2012: 45, 51.
- 40 Attaleiates 20.29, tr. Kaldellis and Krallis 2012: 302–3; Crow 2012: 50–2.
- 41 Kinnamos 6.8, tr. Brand 1976: 205–6. See also Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 239; Crow 2012: 52. For the situation between 1204 and 1453, see Magdalino's chapter in this volume.
- 42 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 137–9.
- 43 'Ancora nel fondo di quella vi è una bella fonte, la quale gietta in un lavello per tre canoni di metallo acqua suavissima'. See Raby 1987: 307–8, for this excerpt from a very rare edition of Angiolello (ed. Capparozzo 1881: 21), which we have been unable to consult.
- 44 See Gilles, *Topographie* 2.17, tr. Ball 1729: 129.

- 45 See the translation in Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 243.
- 46 See Mango 1972: 85.
- 47 *Diegesis* 26, in the translation of Mango 1972: 101. See also Dagron 1984: 207, 254, n. 189.
- 48 See the chapter by Jesper Blid Kullberg in this volume, esp. his fig. 8.3.
- 49 Broilo 2009: 11.
- 50 Casson 1928: 11–12.
- 51 Casson 1928: 14–15; Krauss at Bruns 1935: 85–6.
- 52 See the chapters by Stephenson and de Kleijn in this volume.
- 53 Mango 1949.
- 54 Robinson 2011: 239. See now Stephenson 2013.
- 55 Casson 1928 and 1929; Mamboury 1959; Mango 1959: 37–42; and Müller-Wiener 1977, for excavation history.
- 56 Casson 1928: 20–3.
- 57 Procop. *Aed.* 1.10.3, *Chron. Pasch.* 622, Malalas 18.71, Lydos, *Mag.* 3.70, *Theophanes*, *Chron.* 184, Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 1.647. See Casson 1928: 22.
- 58 Casson 1928: 21–2; Casson 1929: 5–9.
- 59 Mango 1959: 186–8.
- 60 Casson 1929: 12.
- 61 Casson 1929: 13.
- 62 *Anth. Pal.* II; Casson 1929: 18–21.
- 63 Casson 1929: 14–15.
- 64 Casson 1929: 18.
- 65 Bassett 1996: 494, referring to Yegül 1992: 250–313; arguments repeated by Yegül 2008: 176–9.
- 66 Mamboury 1959: 186–8.
- 67 Even earlier, Guiland reached a similar interpretation, concluding from the evidence of the Byzantine sources that the Baths of Zeuxippos must have been located on the northern side of the Hippodrome, opposite the *carceres*; see Guiland 1966: 264.
- 68 *Anth. Pal.* II, title line.
- 69 Malalas 12.20; *Chron. Pasch* 494. See Berger 1988: 24–8 and Bauer 1996: 149, for a discussion of this passage in Malalas.
- 70 Cod. Iust. 8.12.19; see Guiland 1966: 263.

3 | Fistulae and water fraud in late antique Constantinople

GERDA DE KLEIJN

The last three decades have seen a renewed interest in what is left of the water supply systems from antiquity.¹ Some large-scale aqueducts have been investigated by multi-disciplinary teams and published in voluminous books. *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (2008), by James Crow, Jonathan Bardill and Richard Bayliss, is one of the latest. It offers an excellent overview of the extra-urban aqueducts leading to Constantinople and the other remaining features of the system. Highly interesting characteristics are the many cisterns in the city that must have played an important role, but it is not yet clear how they were connected to the baths, the houses, and the fountains of the city. Very little is known so far of the various elements in the distribution system. By which devices was water transported from one point to another? Were pipelines made of lead, terracotta, stone or a combination of these? Did the choice of material change over time? Were water towers part of the system? Detailed archaeological research into the intra-urban water supply system of late antique Constantinople still is a desideratum.

When it comes to urban planning, it is well known that Constantinople approximated Rome more than any other city. Roman models were imitated constantly in the fourth and fifth centuries.² As for the aspect of water supply and distribution it is established that early imperial Rome was well provided with water for public and private use, including public fountains, public bath facilities and private water systems.³ Presumably, late Roman emperors realised that water played a significant role in their relation to the people of Constantinople in addition to *panem et circenses*, just as their predecessors in Rome had done.⁴ Nonetheless the water supply system of late antique Constantinople appears to have been quite different from that of early imperial Rome. Whereas thousands of lead pipes (*fistulae*) were found in Rome and other Roman cities in the West, a lot of them inscribed,⁵ the archaeological record of Constantinople up to 2008 has only one inscribed fistula.⁶ It is my aim in this chapter to investigate this marked difference in order to better understand developments in the field of water supply, and with that to grasp the evolution in administrative practice in the transition of dominance in the empire from Rome to Constantinople.

The comparison between the urban water supply systems of these two cities must start in the western part of the early empire, that is, in the urban context of Rome and other cities in Italy, for the reason that they are better documented to date than those in the eastern part of the empire in late antiquity. Starting from our knowledge of the water distribution systems in Rome, Pompeii and other Roman cities in the West, the focus will be first on the traditional choices for the materials used, and thereafter on the rules bearing on the allocation of water from the public supply to private properties, which were meant to prevent or punish water fraud. My supposition will be that, in addition to different traditions in the eastern and the western parts of the empire, the gradually changing rules and administration concerning water grants to private parties influenced the means of surveillance, and with that the epigraphic habit of stamping water conduits.

Materials used for water conduits

Big cities like imperial Rome and Constantinople were in need of ample water supply for the people present in the city, not only as drinking water and bath facilities for their residents and visitors, but also for industrial purposes, the irrigation of their vegetable and pleasure gardens, and display of affluence by means of small fountains or large *nymphaea*. In republican and imperial Rome, several magistrates and rulers engaged in the building of aqueducts bringing in water from nearby or distant sources. For obvious reasons, the building of large-scale aqueducts to Constantinople started later than those to Rome.

The remains of large-scale aqueducts outside Rome, Constantinople and other cities in various parts of the empire have been subject to lengthy archaeological research.⁷

Although water supply systems were adjusted to the local situation, some general features can be seen. The extra-urban aqueducts were covered free-flow channels, sloping slowly under or above ground; depressions could be crossed by aqueduct bridges or by closed conduits under pressure. Intra-urban distribution has been given less attention, presumably because the lines were less spectacular and more difficult to follow. It is often unclear where the water for public baths and fountains, and for private properties, came from, or how their ducts were connected to the system. The Pompeian water distribution system is better known than that of any other ancient town or city, even though archaeological research has not reached firm conclusions on all issues.⁸

What stands out in this context is that in the western provinces intra-urban conduits, leading from a distribution device to the point where the water was used, were usually made of lead, whereas in the eastern 'Greek' provinces terracotta conduits were in common use.

This does not mean that lead items were not found in the East, rather that they may have been inserted mainly for specific ends. My suggestion is that lead parts were used when a bronze stopcock or turncock was to be installed, that is, to enable water personnel to close the water flow or change its direction, or to create small spouts, as for instance in the *nymphaeum Traiani* in Ephesos.⁹ This idea is corroborated for instance by Tsuk in an article on the aqueduct to Sepphoris.¹⁰ Part of the aqueduct leading to that city has three consecutive sections: a reservoir closed off by a built wall in which a lead pipe was inserted that ended in a tunnel. A stopcock in the lead pipe was used to stop the flow in order to prevent the emptying from the reservoir into the tunnel. So the issue now is: what are the consequences of these different traditions for the system as laid out in Constantinople in the later Roman Empire? Or, in other words: which tradition was dominant there, the Greek or the Roman?

At this point, we must consider the only preserved inscribed lead pipe found to date in Constantinople. The inscription has been traditionally translated as '... in the time of the ex-consul and patrician and prefect of the new Rome ...'.¹¹ It is a puzzling artefact.

The story of its discovery is told by Charles Newton, English vice-consul in Mitylene 1852–9, in his later travelogue.¹² Newton visited 'Stamboul' twice, in 1852 and in 1855/6. During his second visit, he had been engaged in an excavation round the base of the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome. After this excavation, according to Newton, in early 1856, the inscribed lead pipe was brought out of the interior of the Serpent Column by the German archaeologist Otto Frick, who just like Philip Dethier, director of the Austrian school in Pera at that period, had been attracted to the spot because he had heard that the Column was inscribed.¹³ Frick thought that the Serpent Column was converted into a fountain at the time of Valens (364–78) and was connected to a branch of the aqueduct finished by that emperor. Dethier supposed that the conversion had taken place in the reign of Theodosios I, when the obelisk was set up. The discussion about the period in which the alleged conversion of the Serpent Column into a fountain took place has not yet ended.¹⁴ It is striking that none of the authors, except Newton, says anything about the material of water conduits at a very short distance from the column. Newton saw an ancient aqueduct formed by cylindrical earthen pipes jointed one into the other. If I

understand Newton's observation correctly, he suggested that a system of terracotta pipes may have brought water into the fountain. When, some seventy years later, Casson suggested that the Serpent Column may have stood somewhere else in the city and was only transported to its place in the Hippodrome in the age or ages just before the Turks took possession of the city, he mentioned a complex of terracotta and lead water conduits in the Hippodrome dating from different periods in time. In his view, the terracotta pipelines were older than the lead ones as they were found in the lowest depths of the Hippodrome. It is most likely, therefore, that the distribution system used in Constantinople in late antiquity stood in the tradition of the eastern part of the empire in which lead was mainly used for specific ends that could not easily be met by earthenware.

Inscribed water conduits

If the inscribed lead fistula found in the interior of the Serpent Column belonged to a fountain, the issue of its plumbing date is connected with the issue of the period in which the Serpent Column was transformed into a fountain. Let us suppose, just for the sake of the argument, that the Serpent Column was transformed into a fountain in late antiquity and that the inscribed fistula was part of the lead piping leading from terracotta conduits to it. Why would it have been inscribed at all?

This question leads us back to Rome, the earlier capital of the empire, and to the practice of stamping lead pipes there, i.e. to the content of the fistula inscriptions found in Rome and the surrounding area, and to the reasons to stamp fistulae. Ten different types of content have been identified, all of them mentioning names of water recipients or manufacturers.¹⁵ Their texts are all quite different from that proposed for the lead fistula found in Constantinople, which is now lost, so the inscription cannot be checked.

The focus here will be on the two types of texts that are most common in Rome and surroundings.

a. T · AVIDI · QVIETI¹⁶

This text appeared on lead pipes found at two different locations, namely on the Quirinal hill in the city and in the *suburbium* some miles out of the city near the via Appia. T. Avidius Quietus was suffect consul in AD 93, his name is mentioned in the genitive case.

b. (S)ATVRNINVS FEC¹⁷

Saturninus made this fistula; his name is mentioned in the nominative case. The lead pipe dates probably from the second century, and was found just north of the railway station Roma Termini.

When small pieces of lead pipes are left, mostly one inscription only is found on them; larger pipes sometimes show several stamps of one or both types. The idea is that these stamps played a role in controlling the water grants. Unless it is obvious that this is untenable, persons whose names are mentioned in the genitive would have been owners of a house or a villa to whom a certain amount of water was granted. Names in the nominative, especially when followed by *fecit* or an abbreviation thereof, will have denoted manufacturers/plumbers.

Rules and supervision

What may have been the point of stamping lead pipes? For an answer to this question we have to fall back on Frontinus' *De aquis urbis Romae*. In this book the *curator aquarum* of Rome in the late 90s of the first century AD outlined the development of the concessions to derive water from the public water supply into private properties, and the efforts to avert or punish illegal tappings. He distinguished three stages: (a) the last centuries of the Roman republic up to 33 BC, (b) the period 33–12 BC, and (c) the Augustan and later imperial period from 12 BC up to his own time. In the first stage, the 'good old days' of the republic, the water brought to Rome was considered public property. Some water was given to the houses of the most distinguished men. The authority to decide on this was the censor, or if there was none, the aedil.¹⁸ A first instance of fraudulent behaviour in the republican period was attested in 144 BC, when the senate ordered Q. Marcius Rex, praetor of that year, to confiscate the privately owned conduits that were illegally tapping water from the two then existing aqueducts. A second case of abuse mentioned by Frontinus dates to the middle of the first century AD: the people working professionally on the water supply system had been hand in glove with some landowners and small businessmen. Those irrigating their fields without formal permission were running the risk of having these fields confiscated. What Frontinus wrote on these issues is in accordance with other republican evidence, for instance the Lex Ursonensis,¹⁹ in which is stated that town magistrates granted water to private citizens.

The second stage was dominated by M. Vipsanius Agrippa, second man of Octavian (Augustus) who in the period from 33 BC until his death in 12 BC was in charge of the urban water supply. Frontinus was of the opinion

that Agrippa acted as if he were a permanent *curator aquarum* avant la lettre. Like his predecessors he had to use his *potestas* without much legislative support. What were his actions? Agrippa added two aqueducts to the three already existing, built the first large-scale *thermae* complex, repaired the public fountains and divided the available volume of water between public and private users as best as he could. For the latter end he must also have registered in his *commentarii* the names of the private people who were given a share of the public water supply to their properties, and the size of the grant. Furthermore Agrippa established the units for water pipe sizes, that is, twenty-five standard measures, eight of which might have been used to bring water to private properties. His unit was the *quinaria*: 1 *quinaria* being a pipe of $5/4$ *digitus* (2.31 cm) in diameter.

For the third stage we again have to rely on Frontinus' book. In chapters 94–130 he cited a number of senate decisions decreed in 11 BC and laws issued in AD 9, and commented on them. According to Frontinus, the emperor Augustus took over the responsibility for the urban water supply, both for public and private use, after Agrippa's death. He brought the granting of private water concessions over into his *beneficia*, using Agrippa's records as a starting point. In addition, he created the office of *curator aquarum* and had legislation made for its functioning. Augustus' rulings – with some adjustments – were still in force at the end of the first century AD.

It was laid down that private users had to ask the emperor permission to draw water from the public water supply to their properties. After they had gained permission they had to comply with some restrictions as they had to obey the instructions of the *curator aquarum* with regard to the position of the joint to the public supply. Their private water line had to begin at a *castellum*, that is a distribution device, and it was not permitted to enlarge the tube within 50 feet of the *castellum*. At first, any given grant held for so long as the plot to which it was given remained the property of the grantee. The latter provision did not apply to privately owned baths for public use. So, a private grant was given by the emperor to a person for a specific property for as long as the person lived or owned the property, except when the grant was given to a bath establishment. Later on, this provision was made less strict. New owners of a property were given a period of thirty days to renew the grant.²⁰ It remained forbidden, however, to draw water from another *castellum* than that established by the personnel of the *curator aquarum*, or to transport water to another property than that recorded in the imperial *beneficium*.

If we may use a text of Ulpian in the Digest on a praetor's edict dealing with various aspects of drawing water from the public water supply for the

situation in early third-century Rome, it shows that again some rules were less strict.

But in that case, it is permitted to draw the water from the water rank either out of the watercourse or out of any other public place. This is a concession of the emperor's. No one else is entitled to grant the right to draw off water. And it is sometimes granted to landed estates, sometimes to persons. Grants to landed estates are not extinguished with the person; grants to persons are lost with the person and are not transferred to another owner of the lands or to an heir or successor of any kind. But a grant may plainly be obtained by the request of him to whom ownership passes. For if he can show that the water is due to his lands, then although it flows under the name of the person from whom ownership has passed to him, he undoubtedly obtains the right of drawing off water. And this is no favor; but if someone should happen not to obtain it, it is an injury.²¹

As before, only the emperor was entitled to grant the right to draw off water. This grant was given either to a person or to a plot. The water concessions to private persons were lost after the death of a proprietor and had to be renewed by the new owner, but the concession to a plot remained in force and the water flowed under the name of the first concessionaire. In the course of time, the emphasis of the grant had shifted from the person towards the land.

As rules are usually made to prevent or punish misbehaviour, the issue now is whether the *familia aquarum*, i.e. the personnel of the *curator aquarum*, had the tools to check the water concessions to private people and landed estates. I have argued before that the implementation of grants and the supervision of extant privileges presuppose that somewhere records were kept of the ownership of real estate and the changes therein.²² It is plausible that both land registration and the records of grants were kept updated in such a way as to offer the staff of the *curator aquarum* the potential to check the imperial *beneficia*. Most likely, control took place at the *castellum* or water mains where the calix or the pipes were inserted and under the street surface within 50 feet from the site of that connection. By means of the names of private people on fistula stamps the supervisors could control whether the persons mentioned were the first beneficiaries. They could also find in the records the plot to which the water was granted, the size of the grant and the name of the present owner in case the grant to a plot had been renewed in succession. The stamps of plumbers on the same first 50 feet served to control the size of the private installations as well.²³

As fistula stamps in Rome served to control the size of water conduits leading to private properties as mentioned in the imperial grant, and the personnel that carried out the installation according to that grant, the

question arises which arrangements to meet these ends were employed in Constantinople. What do we know of the rulings in Constantinople regarding private water lines? Crow's Appendix 1 is very helpful in this regard, allowing one to look into a selection of decrees, i.e. those concerning the water distribution in Constantinople from the public water supply to private properties as preserved in the Theodosian and Justinianic Codes and issued up to the beginning of the sixth century.²⁴

In 382, the emperors informed the *praefectus urbi* of Constantinople about the following decree:

Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius Augustuses to Clearchus, Prefect of the City.

If the greatest houses are furnished with very elegant baths, We decree that they can have no more than two inches (*unciae*) of water, or if, by reason of high rank, more than this amount is required, by no means shall they possess more than three inches each. We also decree that houses of mediocre or inferior merit shall be content with an inch and a half, provided that it appears that they have no such baths. We order that all other persons who maintain houses of smaller dimensions shall enjoy the use of only one half of an inch. No opportunity for any surreptitious undertaking shall be open to anyone. Unless the office staff that obeys your orders should betray the unlawful users, they shall be stricken by a penalty of six pounds of gold, and the obtainer of a grant by deception shall forfeit the use of what was granted. ...²⁵

In this decree, probably meant to restrict water consumption even though the new Valens aqueduct had been put into use,²⁶ the size of the water grant depended on the size of the house, the presence of baths and the rank (of the owner?) of the house. As in Rome, the size of the grant was equal to a specific diameter of a water conduit. The basic unit now was the *uncia*, instead of the *quinaria*, the *uncia* being 0.15 cm larger than the *quinaria*. It is remarkable that only four maximum sizes are mentioned, instead of the eight measures of Frontinus.²⁷ As in Rome, both users and water personnel were threatened with heavy punishment in case of fraud.

About a decade later, in 395 or 396, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius wrote to Africanus, *praefectus urbi* of Constantinople:

If any man should suppose that his supply of water may be drawn from an aqueduct rather than from a reservoir (*castellum*), he shall also forfeit that privilege which he had formerly acquired by right of a special grant of imperial favor. He shall be visited with the severest punishment, in accordance with his legal status, if contrary to the statuses of this divine imperial response, he should be unwilling to restrain the reigns of his greedy cupidity, and thus the measure of the conduit allotted to private persons may perform its service. ...²⁸

This ruling is similar to those in Rome: in order to keep water consumption by private parties under control and to prevent damaging of the aqueducts, the water granted to them by the emperor has to be drawn from the public water supply at a specific location, viz. a *castellum*, and the quantity was restricted.

Some establishments in Constantinople were obviously sometimes so short of water that the emperors felt the need to intervene in the water division between parties to secure the supply for specific ends. In 439–41 Theodosius II and Valentinian III wrote to Cyrus, *praefectus praetorio* in Constantinople, that it was no longer permitted to draw water from the aqueduct of Hadrian to houses, possessions, suburban villas and baths.²⁹ The aqueduct had to be used for the palace, public baths and *nymphaea*.³⁰ The emperors instructed Cyrus that he ‘must also give authority to [his] subordinates to exercise supervision over houses, suburban villas and baths, without running any risk, in order to prevent deception from being practiced, or suppression, or any other illegal act from being committed by anyone against the public welfare, so far as the use of water is concerned’.³¹ Supervision was inextricably bound to the imperial rearrangements as the *praefectus praetorio* had to put an unspecified group of his *apparitores* into action to check whether private parties observed them. The supervisors had to be enabled to safely enter private properties to perform their duty.

At the end of the fifth century, the emperor Zeno ordered to give back to the public improperly obtained private water rights, even if based on surreptitiously acquired imperial rescripts. The welfare of the city was again put forward as an argument for this action.³² In a second decree, the same emperor repeated this, and made clear that supervision was taken seriously:

Again, We decree that all inspectors and guardians of water, who are styled *hydrophylakes*, who are appointed to have supervision of the aqueducts of this Imperial City, shall bear Our name stamped upon their hands for the purpose of identification, so that by this means they may well be known to all, and not be called upon to perform other services, either by the Stewards of Our Household, or by anyone else, and be employed as couriers, or discharge various public duties.

When any of the foresaid water-inspectors dies, We order that whoever is summoned to take his place shall be designated with the same mark, so that, being thus associated in a common service, they must exercise constant vigilance for the preservation of the water, and not occupy themselves with other matters.³³

A special group of identifiable inspectors should have no other duty than to supervise the water supply of the city.

In the early sixth century the correct procedure to obtain private water rights in the city and the provinces still was to get 'a special permit issued by the Emperor in the usual manner, and duly recorded, either by Your Highness (*praefectus praetorio*), or by other officials having the authority to do so'.³⁴

Conclusion

The rules about private water supply in Constantinople in the fourth and fifth centuries were for the greater part similar to those in imperial Rome in the first two centuries of our era. In both cities, the water supply to the public at large was of utmost importance to the emperor. The overall picture of the procedure to obtain permission to draw water from the public water supply to a private property did not change much. At the end of the day, the emperor was responsible for the granting of *beneficia* to private people. The beneficiaries had to inform the water authorities who kept the required data on their records and pointed out where the connection was to be made.

The rules show abundantly clearly that from the Roman republic until the early sixth century AD, and probably also later on, a private water connection to one's property was considered highly desirable. In addition they show that people often wanted more water than was granted to them. What they demonstrate most of all is that time and again there were people who resorted to whatever means to get what they wanted and that personnel of the water-works could be more than cooperative. Fraud, corruption and bribery had to be contended with. In both cities supervision required a workforce on the ground to search for illegal actions and violation of the rules.

What did change in the course of time were the notions underlying the decisions to whom or to what property a private water supply was granted. We have seen that grants in Rome were initially given to a person for a certain property. The rule that the grant was lost at the sale of the property or the death of the proprietor must have caused inconveniences. It is plausible that more and more grants were asked for and given to estates, which in the third century meant that the grant was maintained whatever happened to its proprietor. Whereas at first in republican Rome the praiseworthiness of the beneficiary was the criterion for a water grant, in the early empire the emphasis was progressively laid on the plot instead of the person when grants were renewed. The effect must have been that fewer *beneficia* were given and that supervision could become less detailed. This may have changed the epigraphic habit: the archaeological record of Rome shows only a very small quantity of inscribed fistulae to date in the fourth century.

Constantinople continued the current Roman practice. In fourth- and fifth-century Constantinople the presence of baths and the dimensions of the house primarily constituted the criteria for the size of the water grant, and there were fewer different standard measures of pipes. The praiseworthiness of the beneficiary was of only secondary importance. Both the person to whom the grant was given and the details about the size of the pipe had disappeared from the *beneficium*. This shift must have had consequences for the exercise of control. In imperial Rome, the *curator aquarum* had at his disposal a *familia aquarum*, part of which was initially in charge of checking the *beneficia* in the records, at the *castellum*, and on the first 50 feet of the lead conduit connected to it. They made use of the fistula stamps until the practice of grant renewal made this obsolete. The *apparitores* of Cyrus, the Constantinopolitan *praefectus urbi*, had to fix their attention on the houses, suburban villas and baths where the water was used. They had to enter private properties to perform their duty, i.e. to check whether the size of the conduits corresponded correctly with the size of the house and the presence of baths. This unrewarding task encountered resistance of the property owners, so that the authority of the *praefectus urbi* had to come to their assistance. When in the early sixth century the name of the emperor was branded on the hands of the *hydrophylakes*, that had to make clear that they acted on the authority of the emperor.

Why then were there no inscribed fistulae found in Constantinople? The only one remaining specimen must be excluded for its content and its unknown date. Apart from the initial preference for terracotta conduits in Constantinople, the evolution of the content of the imperial *beneficium* which had started in Rome and was continued in Constantinople must have influenced the control mechanisms and thus must have created a different procedure. Though supervision was still needed, the water personnel no longer needed fistula stamps for their surveillance.

Notes

- 1 A small selection: General issues in Garbrecht 1987, Garbrecht 1988, Trevor Hodge 1992, Crouch 1993, Evans 1994, Jansen 2000, Rodgers 2004, Eck 2007; Carthage: Wilson 1998; Constantinople: Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008, Crow 2012; Ephesos: Wiplinger 2006; Israel: Ohlig, Peleg and Tsuk 2002, Amit, Patrich and Hirshfeld 2002; Nîmes: Fabre, Fiches and Paillet 1991; Pompeii: De Haan and Jansen 1996; Rome: Garbrecht 1989, fundamental are Lanciani 1881, Van Deman 1934 and Ashby 1935.

- 2 Basset 2004: 12.
- 3 De Kleijn 2001: 47–74, esp. 69.
- 4 Bruun 2012: 25–6.
- 5 Bruun 1991; De Kleijn 2001.
- 6 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 142 n. 99.
- 7 A Dutchman, Wilke Schram, has ‘collected’ on his website data, pictures and literature about more than 600 Roman aqueducts, Constantinople not included: www.romanaqueducts.info.
- 8 De Haan and Jansen 1996.
- 9 Quatember 2006.
- 10 Tsuk 2002.
- 11 *CIG* 8611; translation e.g. at Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 227. However, no person in the fourth century seems to fit in to these functions, and the phrasing does, as far as I know, not appear on the fistulae of Rome. See now Stephenson, in this volume, for an alternative suggestion.
- 12 Newton 1865. For the Serpent Column see vol. I, 44; vol. II, 25–35.
- 13 Frick 1857–60: 487–555 at pp. 550–1. Frick reports that they discovered the inscribed piece of lead pipe inside the hollow body of the Serpent Column.
- 14 See the contribution of Paul Stephenson in this volume.
- 15 For a list of types see Bruun 1991: 22; Bruun 1991: *passim* for a discussion of all types of stamps found in Rome; De Kleijn 2001: 116–20.
- 16 *CIL* 15.7400a.
- 17 *CIL* 15.7689.
- 18 Front. *Aq.* 94; See De Kleijn 2001: 93–106.
- 19 Bruun 2012.
- 20 Front. *Aq.* 109.3.
- 21 Dig. 43.20.1.41–3, tr. Watson 1985 of: *Permittitur autem aquam ex castello uel ex rivo uel ex quo alio loco publico ducere. Idque a principe conceditur: alii nulli competit ius aquae dandae. Et datur interdum praediis, interdum personis: quod praediis datur, persona extincta non extinguitur: quod datur personis, cum personis amittitur ideoque neque ad alium dominum praediorum neque ad heredem uel qualemcumque successorem transit. plane ei, ad quem dominium transit, impetrabile est: nam si docuerit praediis aquam debitam, etsi nomine eius fluxisse, a quo dominium ad se transiit, indubitate impetrat ius aquae ducendae, nec est hoc beneficium, sed iniuria, si quis forte non impetraverit.*
- 22 De Kleijn 2001: 107–14.
- 23 De Kleijn 2001: 222.
- 24 CTh 15.2.3; CTh 15.2.4 (= CJ 11.43(42).2); CTh 15.2.6; CJ 11.43(42)6–11.
- 25 Tr. Pharr 1952: 430 of CTh 15.2.3. IMPPP. GR(ATI)ANUS, VAL(ENTINI)ANUS ET THEOD(OSIUS) AAA. CLEARCHO P(RAEFECTO) U(RBI). Summas quidem domus, si lavacris lautioribus praesententur, binas non amplius aquae uncias aut, si hoc amplius exegerit ratio dignitatis, supra ternas neutiquam possidere, mediocres vero et inferioris meriti domus singulis et semis contentas esse

decernimus, si tamen huiusmodi balneas easdem habere claruerit. Ceteros vero, qui mansionem spatio angustiore sustentant, ad mediae unciae usum tantum gaudere praecipimus neque obreptionem cuiquam patere, ita ut quod tibi paret officium sex librarum auri multa feriat, nisi prodiderit usurpantes et is qui fefellit careat impetrato. DAT. X KAL. IUL. CONSTAN(TINO)P(OLI) ANTONIO ET SYRAGRIO CONSS.

- 26 See also CTh 15.2.4. (= CJ 11.43(42).2), issued in about the same year, that was meant to protect the interests of the city by threatening people with proscription of their lands in case of illegal private water lines; Müller-Wiener 1977: 271.
- 27 Diameter of an *uncia* is 2.46 cm. So maximum measures in Constantinople vary from 1.23 cm up to 7.38 cm; Frontinus' unit the *quinaria* has a diameter of 2.31 cm, a difference from the *uncia* of only 0.15 cm. Frontinus' eight standard measures for private water lines vary from 2.31 up to 9.25 cm in diameter. See De Kleijn 2001: 50 based on Frontinus *Aq.* 25.4 and 39–46.
- 28 Tr. Pharr 1952: 430–1 of CTh 15.2.6: HONOR(IUS) AA. AD AFRICANUM PR(AEFECTUM) U(RBI) Quicumque ex aquaeductu magis quam ex castellis aquae usum putaverit derivandum, etiam id quod prius iure beneficii fuerat consecutus amittat. In eum vero pro condicione personae conveniet severissimo supplicio vindicari, qui adversus statuta huius oraculi avidae cupiditatis noluerit frena cohibere, ut privatis indulti meatus mensura famuletur. P(RO)P(OSITA) IIII KAL. IVN. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) OLYBRIO ET PROBINO CONSS.
- 29 The aqueduct of Hadrian: Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 10–14.
- 30 Scott translated *nymphaea* as cold baths. This is not correct in my view. *Nymphaea* are usually understood as monumental fountains.
- 31 Tr. Scott 1932: vol. 15, 195–6 of CJ 11.43(42).6: (...) facultate praebenda tuae sublimitatis apparitoribus circumeundi sine formidine domus suburbana balnea ad requirendum, ne qua deception vel suppressio vel insidiae contra publicam utilitatem a quoquam penitus attemptetur.
- 32 CJ 11.43(42).9.
- 33 Tr. Scott 1932: vol. 15, 197 of CJ 11.43(42).10.4–5: Universos autem aquarios vel aquarum custodes, quos hydrophylacas nominant, qui omnium aquaeductuum huius regiae urbis custodiae deputati sunt, singulis manibus eorum felici nomine nostrae pietatis impresso signari decernimus, ut huiusmodi adnotatione manifesti sint omnibus nec a procuratoribus domorum vel quolibet alio ad usus alios avellantur vel angariarum vel operarum nomine teneantur. 5. Quod si quem ex iis aquariis mori contigerit, eum nihilo minus qui in locum defuncti subrogatur signo eodem notari praecipimus, ut militiae quodammodo sociati excubiis aquae custodiendae incessanter inhaereant nec muneribus aliis occupentur.
- 34 CJ 11.43(42).11.

4 | The Silahtarağa statues in context

BRENDA LONGFELLOW

In July of 1949, workmen preparing to build a small shop at the upper end of the Golden Horn uncovered a remarkable cache of sculptural fragments that included free-standing statues of gods and giants as well as figural busts set into tondos (fig. 4.1).¹ Subsequent excavations conducted under the direction of Zekieh Başak (née Çoruh) uncovered further pieces of the sculptural group and revealed that the statues had stood in an approximately 11 by 11 metre room abutting the adjacent hillside and facing the Golden Horn (fig. 4.2).² The square room opens to the east, with two pillars *in antis* marking the entrance. The preserved walls consist of a rubble fill faced with irregularly shaped blocks of a light-coloured local limestone. The limestone blocks were covered by a marble veneer; fragments of Proconnesian marble were found in the room, and the excavators noted evidence for the use of nails on the faces of the limestone blocks.³ The west wall has three niches, each measuring approximately 1.5 metres in width, while the lateral walls each have two niches of similar width. In a secondary building phase, one of the niches on the south wall was transformed into a doorway with a dark limestone threshold that provided access to a narrow room of unknown function. Now partially buried beneath a road and thus rendered inaccessible for further study, the exact dimensions of the room remain unknown and the stratigraphy and details of the architectural features remain unstudied. Given the generic nature of the identified architectural materials and building methods, the edifice could feasibly date anywhere from the second to fifth centuries,⁴ but the space is often dated to the Antonine period (AD 138–93) on account of certain stylistic features of the sculptural gods and giants found within it. The figural busts, which include a female with a Severan hairstyle and a male wearing a *toga contabulata*, are thus considered later additions to the space.⁵ This reasoning, however, overlooks the possibility that some, if not all, of the sculptures may be reused and brought into this architectural space from different original contexts. The following essay considers the possible identification of the edifice as well as the stylistic and iconographic features of the Silahtarağa gigantomachy to suggest that the statues contained within the architectural space form a decorative



Fig 4.1. Silahtarğa statues, Istanbul Archaeological Museums.
Photograph: Brenda Longfellow.

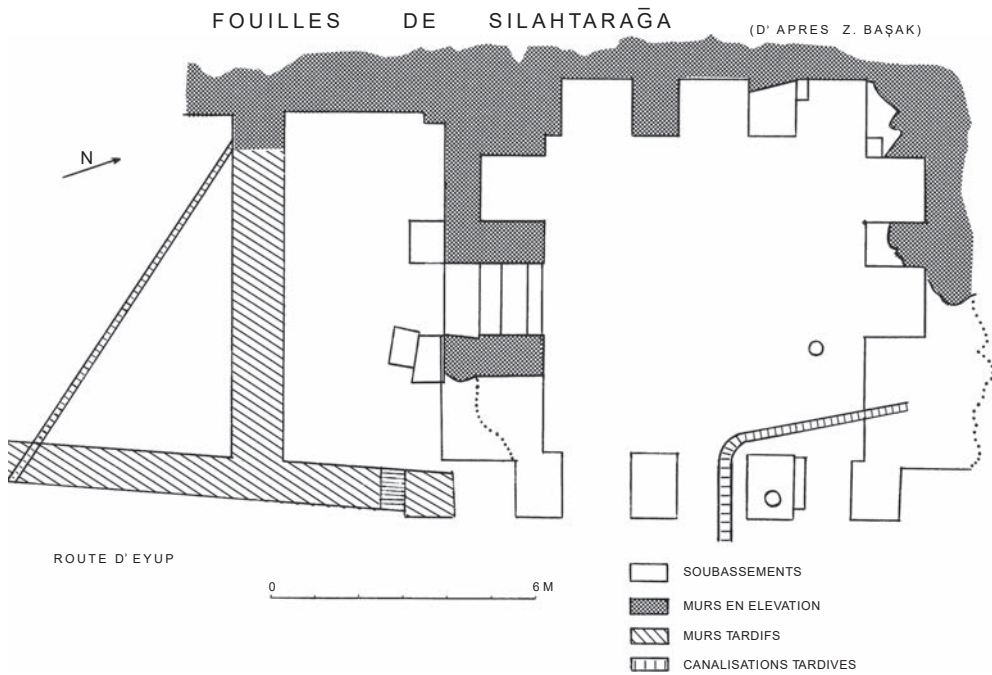


Fig 4.2. Plan of the excavations at Silahtarğa, after Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984, fig. 1 (with permission).

ensemble better associated with fourth-century Constantinople than second-century Byzantion.

In her second preliminary report on the excavations, which also was the last to be published on the edifice, Başak stated the following about the function of the building: 'Although we cannot at present say anything definite about the nature of the building it appears to have been connected with the distribution of water and was doubtless used for a long time in the Byzantine period as a holy well.'⁶ Unfortunately, the information that led Başak to these conclusions remains unclear beyond the presence of the Hadrianic aqueduct in the general vicinity. The only published hydraulic element from the room is a terracotta pipe traversing the north-east corner; this pipe matched sections of piping found on the slope of the hill behind the edifice. In the late 1970s or early 1980s, Nezih Fıratlı, who participated in the excavations and subsequently served as director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, stated that he thought the pipe dated to the late Byzantine or Ottoman period, thus precluding its association with the earliest phase of the structure. He also indicated that he did not believe the room was a *nymphaeum* because a basin was not identified during the excavation.⁷ This lack of evidence for the presence of water poses a major problem for the identification of the site as a place of artistic water display.

Despite the lack of known hydraulic elements within the edifice and Fıratlı's statement, many scholars identify the structure as a Roman *nymphaeum* associated with a suburban villa or tied to a local shrine.⁸ Without further information about the architecture or hydraulic elements, Başak's initial identification of the space as one connected with water distribution should be acknowledged, as should the lack of evidence available for defining what this connection might be. Given that the structure is backed against a hillside, it is probable that this square room was intended to evoke a grotto, with or without hydraulic features. In addition, because water from a natural spring often appears near the base of a hill, it may be worth asking whether such a water source could here have been surrounded by a basin-like curb that was removed when the water supply dried up, leaving no trace that has been identified; it is not uncommon for springs to dry up when the aquifer is disturbed either by natural or engineered diversion. The presence of a natural spring, even if its chief manifestation was wetness and seepage in the hillside around the structure, might have justified the creation of an artificial grotto; still, the idea of a *nymphaeum* without any pool or basin or running water more directly associated with the sculpture is something of an anomaly.

Structures in villas and sacred locales that recreate the atmosphere of a shadowy grotto are often called *musaea*; similar evocative edifices also

are incorporated into urban houses, public gardens and civic spaces.⁹ These numinously bucolic spaces have a long history in the Greco-Roman world, from natural grottos like the Korykian Cave on Mount Parnassos, to partially man-made grottos like the Peirene Fountain in the heart of Corinth, to completely artificial structures like the late-first-century BC fountain that backs up against the Aqua Marcia in Rome. The rustic genre and the evocation of rough nature in the last fountain is augmented by the shells, glass, snails and pumice affixed to its façade wall and statuary niches.¹⁰ This man-made example from Rome is of particular relevance for a discussion of the grotto effect of the Silahtarağa edifice because the sculptural group includes two satyrs fighting a snake-legged giant in a melodramatic parody of the gigantomachy, recalling the association of giants with the earth.

Many partially and completely artificial grottos include statuary ensembles particularly suitable for pastoral settings, which range from the epic battle between gods and giants to the adventures of Odysseus. For instance, sculptural groups re-enacting Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemos transformed grotto-like spaces associated with villas at Colle Cesarano, Sperlonga, Baiae and Castelgandolfo, as well as the shadowy apsidal Fountain of Domitian in the heart of Ephesos, into *antra Cyclopi*.¹¹ In each of these tableaux, watery or hydraulic elements enhance the dramatic effect of the architecture and sculptural groups. Pipes enliven the sculptural display at Ephesos, so that wine overflows and blood spews from the wounds of Odysseus' companion, while the sea itself provides passage into the artificial cave cut into the hillside at Baiae.¹² Even with the uncertain role of water within the room at Silahtarağa, the view towards the Golden Horn in the distance may have worked with the rocky hillside behind the edifice and the gigantomachy within to emphasise the earthbound connotations and perhaps sacral ambiance of the space.

In her preliminary excavation report, Başak noted that the Silahtarağa edifice stands along an ancient road leading to the confluence of the Kydaros (modern Alibey) and Barbyzes (modern Kâğıthane) rivers. In antiquity, this confluence was marked by a sacred space dedicated to the nymph Semestra, who sometimes is identified as the mother of Byzas, the founder of Byzantium.¹³ Nathalie de Chaisemartin and Emel Örgen have tentatively suggested that the remains of a Roman terrace visible on the promontory above the point where the two rivers meet may be part of the sanctuary of Semestra, and that the Silahtarağa edifice may have served as a wayside chapel for pilgrims approaching the sanctuary.¹⁴ They also suggested a votive function for the smaller statues found in the fill alongside the larger statues discussed in this chapter, a possibility that raises the question of

whether the tondo portraits could have represented pious donors or founders of the structure.¹⁵ This identification of the structure as a shrine is a strong prospect, particularly with the numerous statues found here and the possibility that the Silahtarağa edifice may have stood alongside and faced the roadway; such a public orientation would be unusual for a grotto element of a villa. Without being able to fully ascertain its relation to the road and other structures in the vicinity, however, it is difficult to confidently state whether the structure is a publicly accessible shrine or one element in a larger complex. Regardless of whether it was a wayside shrine, part of a larger sanctuary, or a villa element, the location of the edifice and the connections that can be drawn between its sculptural ensemble and those in the heart of Constantinople and further abroad suggest that this structure drew upon the classical heritage of the community to create an evocative space that could be linked to imperial culture.

The sculptures

Well over one hundred sculptural fragments were recovered from the Silahtarağa edifice. In addition to the smaller statues that Chaisemartin and Örgen identified as votives, the fragments include six under-life-size giants in dark Aphrodisian marble; five or six under-life-size gods in white Aphrodisian marble, some of which have been recut; and three portrait busts in white Aphrodisian marble set into tondos of Proconnesian marble.¹⁶ All three busts have been reworked, and the odd and sharply downward angles of the portrait busts indicate that they were taken from another context and adapted to fit the tondo format.¹⁷

Due to their similar size, common marble source, and shared technical execution, the gods and giants probably were conceived of as an ensemble. The deities include Artemis, Selene, Helios, a head of Hercules and a male torso with bumpy knots defining the musculature above the abdomen. The gods range in height from 1.40 to 1.52 metres and would fit in the seven niches of the room.¹⁸ The giants, which stood independently on bases, are much more fragmentary. They include the torso and snaky legs of a theatrically lunging giant (fig. 4.3); a fist throwing a punch above a snaky leg; and multiple sets of arms heaving rocks, with veins bulging from the action. The preserved heads are characterised by open mouths, frenetic hair and brows contorted in pure anguish according to the fashion popularised by Pergamene workshops in the Hellenistic period (fig. 4.4). Indeed, a Pergamene precedent for these giants may be the giant on the



Fig 4.3. Torso of a giant, Silahtarağa group, Istanbul Archaeological Museums 5082T. Photograph: DAI Istanbul (with permission).

east frieze of the Altar of Pergamon who is hurling a boulder at Hekate. His snaky leg bites the goddess' shield while a dog of Artemis bites the anguiped. Although the Silahtarağa statues do not physically interact with one another like the pair on the Pergamene altar, these black and white statues also created a dynamic *gigantomachia* when displayed together in the square space. The dramatic action and tortured expressions of the giants stand in striking contrast to the static, upright poses and composed expressions of the gods. More subtly, the white inlay of the irises of the giants stood out against the dark marble of their faces, as did the dark inlay of the pupils of the gods against their white marble faces. Such contrasts are heightened when one notes the play of light and dark marble around the room. The white Proconnesian marble bases of the giants both create a striking juxtaposition with the dark marble of their bodies and anchor them within the space, which was faced with Proconnesian marble except for the dark limestone threshold block that was added during an ancient renovation to the room.



Fig 4.4. Head of a giant, Silahtarağa group, Istanbul Archaeological Museums 5066T. Photograph: DAI Istanbul (with permission).

Başak's reconstruction of the ensemble, with the gods in the niches and the giants on the floor below, is evoked by the current display of the statues in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.¹⁹ This arrangement has a memorable counterpart in the Constantinian villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily, where an apsidal floor mosaic portrays giants writhing in agony from Hercules' deadly arrows (fig. 4.5).²⁰ At the back of the room is a single statue base now occupied by a white marble male torso; presumably a statue of Hercules originally stood over the defeated giants to complete the unfolding narrative.²¹ The effect of the dark giants theatrically dying beneath the static, upright statue at the back of the apse provides a striking visual counterpart to the Silahtarağa ensemble.

This comparison with a Constantinian mosaic brings into consideration the date for the Silahtarağa ensemble. When Chaisemartin and Örgen published the sculptural collection in 1984, they proposed an Antonine date for the gods and giants and explained the signs of reuse by suggesting that the gigantomachy was originally intended for a different context

and then added to the Silahtarağa edifice during a restoration in the late third century.²² In large part, the Antonine date of manufacture is derived from stylistic comparisons with the Esquiline group now in Copenhagen, which consists of life-size statues of Carrara marble found on the Esquiline Hill in the 1880s. The Silahtarağa and Esquiline ensembles share a number of technical and stylistic mannerisms, many of which are associated with Aphrodisian workshops.²³ The marble is polished to a high finish on the front of the statues but receives a rasp finish on the back and sides. Veins are prominent, as already discussed with the Silahtarağa giants, and thighs are segmented into sharply-defined rhomboidal sections. The mannered rendering of the muscles is also notable in the bumpy knots framing the upper abdomen and knee caps. The faces have puffy upper and lower eyelids, drilled irises and ridged brows that emphasize their strong arc.²⁴

Perhaps the most conspicuous similarity between the two groups is the treatment of the hair around the face: the serpentine locks are deeply undercut and distinguished by double s-curves punctuated at the end with drill dots (fig. 4.6). This mannered treatment of the hair, however, is not necessarily associated with Aphrodisias but rather shared with a number of statues dating to the fourth century. The possibility that the Esquiline group dates to the fourth century rather than the second was first put forth in



Fig 4.5. Mosaic from Piazza Armerina, Sicily.
Photograph: Fototeca Unione 13048 (with permission).

1982, when Kenan Erim and Charlotte Rouché noted that the letter forms and honorific titles recorded on the extant bases of the Esquiline group indicate that the two Aphrodisians who signed the bases were working in the second quarter of the fourth century.²⁵ This evidence opened the probability that the statues themselves might have been made in the early fourth century, and over the next decade this dating of the Esquiline group gained in popularity.²⁶ In 1994, Bente Kiilerich and Hjalmar Torp noted that the epigraphic evidence of the Esquiline group provides a *terminus post quem* but not a *terminus ante quem*, as the letter forms and honorific titles continued to be used in the latter part of the fourth century. They associated the stylistic elements of the Esquiline group with the second half of the fourth century and suggested a similar redating for the Silahtarağa statues.²⁷ Based on the stylistic similarities between not only the Silahtarağa and Esquiline groups but also statues from Aphrodisias, a mithraeum at Sidon and villas at Valdetorres de Jarama in Spain and Chiragan and



Fig 4.6. Head of Helios, Istanbul Archaeological Museums 5059T.
Photograph: DAI Istanbul 78/112 (W. Schiele) (with permission).

Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in France, Marianne Bergmann has identified an artistic circle heavily influenced by the Aphrodisian tradition and loosely comprised of any number of workshops working in a variety of locales. Among these statues, only one has an absolute date: a statue of Hekate from the Mithraeum at Sidon, which is dated by its dedicatory inscription to AD 389 and is thus a contemporary of the carved bases of the Theodosian Obelisk in Constantinople (AD 388–92). Indeed, Bergmann argues that this newly identified artistic circle had its genesis in the capital city, and she proposes that the Silahtarağa gigantomachy was created by a workshop in Constantinople rather than in Aphrodisias.²⁸

An Aphrodisian workshop is commonly posited for the gods and giants due to the use of Aphrodisian marble, the Aphrodisian stylistic features outlined above, and the finding of an anguipedic fragment in Aphrodisias.²⁹ But the Proconnesian marble used for the bases of the giants indicate that the statues were at least finished in Constantinople, if not worked locally by craftsmen heavily influenced by or trained in the Aphrodisian tradition.³⁰ And further evidence for a local workshop comes from the carving methods used for the ensemble. Aphrodisian workshops typically carved statues from a single block, but the Silahtarağa statues have separately worked limbs and noses, and the arc of drapery over the head of Selene is made of several pieces held together with clamps.³¹ This piecing would be a particularly practical technique if the craftsmen were using units of imported marble rather than blocks quarried on the spot and specifically for the individual figures.

Although the redating of the Silahtarağa gigantomachy has not met with universal acceptance,³² a fourth-century date explains many of the stylistic features that characterise the ensemble. In addition to the treatment of the hair, the stylistic characteristics indicative of a fourth-century date include the elongated legs, thick thighs, long waists, overly long necks and large heads of the Selene, Artemis and Helios. Viewed from the side, the statues are rather thin and Selene leans gently forward, as is characteristic of late antique statues.³³ Perhaps most telling for the late-fourth-century date are similarities between the head of Artemis and the unfinished portrait head of an emperor from Aphrodisias, also in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (fig. 4.7).³⁴ Dated to approximately 390, the imperial portrait matches the overall shape of the face of Artemis and echoes the softly modelled cupid's bow mouth, almond-shaped eyes framed by puffy eyelids, incised irises and bean-shaped pupils.³⁵ The topknot hairstyle worn by Artemis and Selene is popular in this period and Selene, like many late-fourth-century statues, wears a garment that defies the laws of physics. The swirling transparent



Fig 4.7. Head of Artemis, Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

Photograph: DAI Istanbul R. 30.454 (D. Johannes) (with permission).

drapery flutters over the torso and thighs only to drop into a dense, deeply undercut block of fabric between the legs. An echo of this compartmental treatment of the drapery can be seen on the Silahtarağa Artemis as well as an Artemis dated to the late fourth century that was found in Saint-Georges-de-Montagne. The extant base supporting the statue of Selene has a central scotia with upper and lower mouldings of double fillets of uneven width; this style conforms to the typical fourth-century aesthetic.³⁶

The giants also have fourth-century stylistic features, like hair so deeply undercut that blocks of it stand apart from the neck to serve as supports. Furthermore, among the statues stylistically similar to the Silahtarağa giants is a snaky-legged giant excavated in an octagonal space associated with a villa at Valdetorres de Jarama. The Spanish giant shares many features with the Silahtarağa giants, including the use of dark Aphrodisian marble and knotted chest musculature.³⁷ Based on pottery finds, the octagonal structure was constructed no earlier than the late fourth century.³⁸

Two black-and-white tritons recovered during the excavations at the Palace of Justice in Sultanahmet in the 1950s provide local fourth-century parallels for the Silahtarağa ensemble.³⁹ Not only do the Silahtarağa giants share the use of Aphrodisian marble with the tritons, but they also share certain features, like bumpy knots of muscles above the abdomen, dramatically lunging poses, and the subject matter of serpentine creatures suitable for watery settings. Unlike the piecemeal work that characterises the Silahtarağa statues, however, the Sultanahmet tritons are crafted from single pieces of marble. The cameo effect created by the black drapery over the white torso is due to the use of banded Aphrodisian marble; effective working of the banded marble requires skilled craftsmen, and this difficult technique is a hallmark of Aphrodisian workshops.⁴⁰

The production of similar-looking pieces through diametrically opposed techniques – the Sultanahmet tritons carved from a single piece of banded marble and the Silahtarağa giants with their separately worked limbs, noses and bases attached with iron dowels⁴¹ – indicates the vibrant nature of artistic influence and exchange in fourth-century Constantinople as well as the simultaneous employment of sculptors practising and influenced by different traditions. As several scholars have noted over the past two decades, the extensive building programme of Theodosius I brought together sculptors who had been trained in artistic centres across Asia Minor, including Aphrodisias, Dokimeion, Side and Ephesos.⁴² The Silahtarağa group may be the result of such blended workshops in Constantinople.

A fourth-century date explains not only the stylistic features of many figures in the group but also the very appearance of a gigantomachy in the hinterland of Constantinople. For the snaky-legged giants eternally enacting their cosmic battle with the gods relate well to the myths and mythical creatures described by historical sources as adorning the heart of Constantinople. Such serpentine imagery is particularly potent in the statues and reliefs associated with the Forum of Constantine and the Hippodrome. Beyond the familiar statue of Constantine that stood on the porphyry column at the centre of the forum, other statues in the forum included twelve hippocamps, which possibly were associated with a large *nymphaeum* on the south side.⁴³ Opposite this structure on the north side of the round piazza was the senate house built by Constantine. This was entered through bronze doors taken from the Artemision at Ephesos, doors that were decorated with a famous depiction of the *gigantomachia*.⁴⁴ In a poem commissioned by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos that in part recounts the notable monuments and statues in tenth-century

Constantinople, Constantine of Rhodes describes the appearance of the giants on the senate-house doorway as follows:

Snake-like feet
twisted in coils beneath them,
throwing up aloft fragments torn from the rock,
their tongues flickering like serpents,
roaring terribly, glowering grimly
and emitting fire from their eyes,
so that those beholding it are frightened and tremble
and shuddering fear strikes the heart.⁴⁵

The description of the giants on snaky legs and dramatically hurling rocks is comparable to the frenzied expressions and actions of the angui-pedes in the Silahtarağa edifice. Other aspects of the door's display in the Forum of Constantine also find parallels in Silahtarağa. By the Theodosian period, statues of Athena from Lindos and an Amphitrite (or Thetis) from Rhodes wearing a crustacean crown stood to the east and west of the entrance to the senate house.⁴⁶ For visitors thinking about the two-dimensional cosmic battle on the bronze doors, these three-dimensional statues perhaps extended the effect of the gigantomachy into the viewer's space. Passers-by walking between the statues and the door could get different views of the battle and in effect become witnesses to the cosmic conflict. A similar physical engagement could colour and heighten a viewer's experience at Silahtarağa, where the giants heaved roughly hewn stones across the floor space shared with visitors.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the four porphyry columns on the porch of the senate house set up a strong visual contrast with the Proconnesian marble of the forum's encircling colonnade and connected the building to the porphyry column at the centre of the piazza.⁴⁸ This alliterative use of marble both helped to demarcate the senate house and to bind it to the larger complex; we have seen a similar effect in the Silahtarağa edifice with its alternating use of dark and light marbles in the architecture and sculpture. For a visitor familiar with both gigantomachies, these visual parallels may have suggested other parallels rooted in imperial authority and civic traditions, traditions made even more evocative by the placement of the Silahtarağa edifice near the venerable source of the Golden Horn.

Like the gigantomachy on the senate-house doors, the statues employing snake imagery in the Hippodrome connect the emperor and the imperial city with the legendary victories of the heroic and mythical past. In the fourth century, an eagle with a coiled snake in its claws stood on a column

in the Hippodrome, while the Serpent Column from Delphi stood along the *euripos*.⁴⁹ The column was originally part of a support for a golden tripod dedicated at Delphi to celebrate the Greek victory over the Persians at Plateia in 479 BC and its far-reaching consequences. Until the Phokians took the golden tripod in 355 BC, it had stood in the sacred heart of Delphi next to the main altar and was one of several dedications made from the tithe set aside from the war spoils of Plateia.⁵⁰ The unusual participation of all the Greek allies in the dedication of the tripod reflects the significance of the victory, which ended the Persian wars and became synonymous with the triumph of civilisation over barbarism. For generations after the Persian wars, this victory could be read into the standard mythical scenes of universal victory, including the *gigantomachia*. After the Serpent Column was moved to Constantinople, the triumphal monument not only continued to evoke the victory at Plateia and the accompanying concept of universal victory but also acquired additional layers of meaning appropriate to its new locale. On the Hippodrome, it became an integral component of a venerable collection that spoke to the continuity, power and authority of the emperor and the new capital city.⁵¹

By the early fifth century, a statue of Scylla also stood on the *euripos*.⁵² A snaky-legged terror haunting the Strait of Messina, Scylla threatened the ships of Jason, Aeneas and Odysseus. Large-scale statues of Scylla are known from the Fountain of Peirene at Corinth, imperial grottos at Sperlonga and Castelgandolfo, and the so-called Canopus in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. All are associated with watery settings, with the Scylla at Peirene functioning as a fountain in the open-air court that fronted the grotto access to the spring of Peirene.⁵³ Such a dangerous creature set up in the heart of Constantinople, and particularly one set in an eye-catching aquatic setting, would capture the attention of passers-by and bring to life the mythology binding Constantinople to its antique past.

Outside of Constantinople, the primal creatures of the mythical past, and particularly the snaky-legged giants, seem to have undergone a general renaissance in the fourth and early fifth centuries, with elites in Syria, Sicily and Spain incorporating the imagery into their villas, cities like Aphrodisias and Athens moving existing *gigantomachia* to new locales and statesmen using the trope in speeches and literature. In Athens, the early-fifth-century building in the agora known as the Palace of the Giants featured six colossal giants and tritons flanking a triple entranceway. Placed on tall pedestals, these colossal creatures stood against pilasters 3.09 metres tall.⁵⁴ In a unique twist on the motif, these snaky creatures were portrayed duelling, with the giants brandishing clubs and branches and the tritons wielding

conch shells.⁵⁵ The giants and tritons were paired across entranceways with their heads turned towards each other and their bodies turned away, creating an effect similar to that of the horses of San Marco, which were added to the Hippodrome in Constantinople under Theodosius II (AD 401–50). In Athens, most of the tritons and giants were monoliths added to the Odeion of Agrippa in the Antonine period, but at least one of giants was newly made for the fifth-century building. It shows no signs of repair and has several late antique stylistic characteristics, including overly long legs and stylised musculature. Pieced together from several pieces of marble, the legs of this giant have snake heads that are separately attached.⁵⁶ The so-called Palace of the Giants probably can be associated with the Athenian-born empress Eudocia (AD 401–60), wife of Theodosius II, who either resided here while in Athens or helped fund it as a residence for imperial officials.⁵⁷ Such an imperial association explains the ability of the workshop not only to reuse the colossal statues that were already part of the cityscape but also to carve a new colossus at a time when newly carved mythological statues of any size are rare. In Athens, the imperial connection may have been most clear to those who had been to Constantinople and thus might note that the placement of the snaky-legged colossi at the doorway to the Athenian structure parallels the snaky-legged giants on the doors of the senate house as well as the depiction of Licinius assimilated with Leviathan as a ‘crooked serpent’, not only on coins minted in Constantinople but also on a relief set before the entrance to the palace in Constantinople.⁵⁸

The general movement and augmentation of existing gigantomachy groups in communities across the Mediterranean suggest a resilient interest in the myth of titanic struggle between good and evil.⁵⁹ Indeed the snaky imagery is so prevalent in late antique civic centres and temples that Pacatus describes the ‘wars with snake-footed monsters’ as an overused artistic trope in his panegyric to Theodosius I in 389.⁶⁰ Approximately a generation later, the poet Claudian (c.370–404) wrote a poem about the *gigantomachia* while working in the court of Honorius (395–423) in Milan, and Nonnos of Panopolis, who lived after Claudian, includes a lengthy and dramatic telling of the gigantomachy in his epic poem *Dionysiaca*. In the battle described by Claudian, the snaky legs of the giants hiss, writhe and attack. Twice the legs must be killed separately from the giant, and both times Minerva uses the writhing locks of Medusa to turn the attacking legs to stone. The poetic transformation of the snaky legs into stone may have been particularly evocative for anyone familiar with stone versions of the group, like that at Silahtarğa.

A powerful image of cosmically-ordained victory, the *gigantomachia* had long served as an allegory for the victory of civilisation over barbarism and

had been associated with imperial authority since Augustus dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline Hill (22 BC).⁶¹ From its position on the senate-house doors in the Forum of Constantine, the gigantomachy occupies the liminal space between the world of myth and the world of history, between the worlds of cosmic victory and imperial victory. In the Silahtarağa edifice, the epic battle builds on these cosmic and imperial associations while also sharing the theme of Greco-Roman cultural continuity with innumerable monuments in the capital city. Its location near a locale tied to the foundation myths of the city adds an evocative element to the battle, binding it to the local origins of the city and its eternal glory. So too does the architecture of the room, the size of which allows for a more intimate engagement with the group than is possible in a civic centre. Furthermore, the positioning of the structure against a rocky hill creates a grotto that evokes the rustic setting of the primeval battle. The intimacy of the space and the relatively large size of the ensemble contained within it fostered a vision of the legendary past that bound cosmic power and authority to a venerable locale.

The Silahtarağa ensemble features many elements of late antique design, including the display of reused and recut statues and busts alongside newly carved statues and the combination of portrait busts with mythological creatures. At first glance, the tondos, which were recut and reused at Silahtarağa, might appear to be anachronistic to the gigantomachy. But such a combination of gods and portraits is characteristic of late antique displays, as evidenced by the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople as well as villas across the Mediterranean. Setting images of ancestors, statesmen and philosophers side by side with gods and heroes was a way for patrons to demonstrate a position of power and authority, whether in a public or private space. By including busts above the legendary battle, the Silahtarağa complex combines the intellectual and civic traditions often discussed in the Baths of Zeuxippos with the concept of universal victory. This combination becomes that much more evocative when encountered within the cultural koine of late antique Constantinople.

Notes

- 1 I thank Paul Stephenson and Eunice Maguire for their thoughtful comments on this chapter. Eunice offered the insight on p. 70 about a 'basin-like curb'.
- 2 Only two brief preliminary reports were published: Çoruh 1950: 62–3; Başak 1952: 55.

- 3 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 8. The walls were preserved to a height of 1.5 m.
- 4 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 7–8; R. Fleischer 1988: 61.
- 5 The *toga contabulata* is identifiable by a wide band of fabric folded across the chest. This type of toga first appears on Severan busts and remains popular well into late antiquity.
- 6 Başak 1952: 54.
- 7 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 8, 96.
- 8 *Nymphaeum* of a suburban villa: Hannestad 1994: 126; Stirling 2005: 214; Delemen 2010: 59. *Nymphaeum* associated with a sacred locale: Karagöz 2010: 65.
- 9 For more on *musaea*, see Lugli 1938 and Tamm 1963: 168. R. Fleischer 1988: 63 has suggested that the Silahtarağa edifice is either a *musaeum* or a *diaeta*, the latter of which is a small pavilion in a villa garden that evokes a sacred space through its size, shape and sculptural ensemble.
- 10 Vorster 1999.
- 11 Viscogliosi 1996.
- 12 Andreae 1977; Tocco Sciorelli 1983; Longfellow 2011: 69–71.
- 13 Gilles 1988: 8; Müller 1830: 138–9. Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 7, 95; Karagöz 2010: 65. The Silahtarağa edifice is located approximately one kilometre away from the confluence.
- 14 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 95. Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 96–7 have identified the Silahtarağa edifice as a *septizodium* tied to a local shrine and associated with the imperial cult. In general, a *septizodium* usually has a hydraulic aspect, incorporates images of celestial deities and is located near an important road or crossroad. Although the Silahtarağa edifice is located near a road, it is inadvisable to identify it as a *septizodium* because of the strong regional and temporal associations of the type. All of the *septizodia* with known identifying inscriptions were built in Rome or North Africa during the first half of the third century BC and can be associated with the Severan family and the seven planetary deities. Longfellow 2011: 173–9.
- 15 These statuettes include numerous arms and hands of three sizes, as well as a half-life-size male head, female torso and a child's torso with a bird. Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 9.
- 16 Chaisemartin 1999: 263 has suggested that the statues may have been repaired with local material.
- 17 Bergmann 1999: 19. All three busts have their drapery reworked. In addition, the hair and face of the female bust with a Severan hairstyle have been reworked. The female bust with an ideal hairstyle once had a crown or garland in her hair that has been removed.
- 18 Bergmann 1999. Helios inv. 5059; male torso inv. 5060; Artemis hunting inv. no. 5058; Selene inv. no. 5061; head of Hercules inv. no. 5083. The other fragments associated with this group include male and female arms. Width of Artemis at the shoulders: 0.73 m. Length of the base of Selene: 0.54 m.
- 19 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 8, 95.

- 20 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 95. A gigantomachy is also featured in a mosaic in the House of the Buffet Supper at Antioch-on-the-Orontes.
- 21 The torso was found in the vicinity of this apse and thus placed here. Carandini, Ricci and De Vos 1982: 312.
- 22 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 95.
- 23 For discussions of Aphrodisian workshops, see Squarciapino 1943; Erim 1974; Rockwell 1991; Kiilerich and Torp 1994; Smith 1998; Bergmann 1999; Smith 2011.
- 24 The treatment of the irises and pupils of individual statues in both groups cover the spectrum of treatments used in the second through fourth centuries. Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 94; Hannestad 1994: 112–13.
- 25 Erim and Roueché 1982. The plinths name Flavios Zenon, *archiereus* and *diase-motatos* (*perfectissimus*), and Flavios Chryseros, *archiereus* and *comes*. The *terminus post quem* provided by the signatures has been drawn into question by the finding of another statue base signed by Flavios Zenon in Rome. This plinth, which has letter forms and formulae matching those on the base supporting the Esquiline satyr, was built into a bath building that is dated to the fourth century AD by brick stamps. Moltesen 2000.
- 26 Kiilerich 1993; Hannestad 1994. Another option was that older statues had been set on new plinths. Smith 2011: 74 has suggested that Flavios Zenon and Flavios Andronikos, whose high titles are not known for other sculptors, may have been involved in the reselling of older statues rather than the sculptors of the Esquiline statues.
- 27 Kiilerich and Torp 1994. Late antique stylistic features of these two statue groups are also articulated by R. Fleischer 1988; Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005.
- 28 Bergmann 1999.
- 29 Kiilerich 1993a: 213, 232, 249; Kiilerich and Torp 1994: 314–16; Kiilerich 1998: 109; Karagöz 2010: 64; Smith 2011: 259 n. 6. The fragment of a snake-leg in Aphrodisias was found in 1993. Smith and Ratté 1995: 54 fig. 30.
- 30 Kiilerich 1993b: 87 suggested that the Silahbara statues could have been produced by an Aphrodisian workshop operating in Constantinople.
- 31 Chaisemartin 1999: 263.
- 32 Antonine date: Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984; Karagöz 2010: 61. High Imperial: Smith 2011. Early third century: Dresken-Weiland 1991: 12. Early fourth century: R. Fleischer 1988: 64; Hannestad 1994: 111. AD 330–70: Kiilerich 1998: 109. AD 340–70: Kiilerich and Torp 1994. Late fourth century: Bergmann 1999; Delemen 2010: 59; Stirling 2005: 214.
- 33 Stirling 2005: 108.
- 34 These features are also shared with the head of Helios from the Esquiline group. Kiilerich 2011: 364.
- 35 R. Fleischer 1988; Bergmann 1999: 19–20, 53.
- 36 Stirling 2005: 107.
- 37 In Gaul, a Jupiter/giant column was reused in the Villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne. In Aphrodisias, the late fifth-century Agora Gate displayed

- a sequence of Antonine reliefs that included a gigantomachy. Linant de Bellefonds 1996.
- 38 Stirling 2005: 179–81, 206.
- 39 Istanbul 1956: 54 no. 5247.
- 40 Smith and Ratté 1997: 18.
- 41 Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984: 80–2; Chaisemartin 1999: 263.
- 42 Kiilerich 1993a: 79–80, 213; Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005: 92.
- 43 *Par.* 15; Bassett 2004: 70, 204. In 1963, the fragmentary remains of a dolphin were found in the area of the forum. Bassett 2004: 204.
- 44 Mango 1963: 67.
- 45 139–45. Tr. by James 2012.
- 46 Bassett 2004: 208.
- 47 Arethas, *Schol. Arist. Or.* 50t. III; Constantine the Rhodian, 150–63; Kedrenos I, 565; Bassett 2004: 90, 149, 188–92, 207–8.
- 48 Bassett 2004: 30.
- 49 Bassett 2004: 216, 224–7.
- 50 *Her.* 10.81; *Paus.* 10.13.9.
- 51 Bassett 2004: 63, 67. Turned into a fountain after it was placed in the Hippodrome, the potency of the Serpent Column and its snaky imagery became even more legendary over time. The fourteenth-century traveller Ignatius of Smolensk reported that the hollow column contained snake venom, while other sources indicate that the three intertwined snakes distributed water, wine and milk. See Paul Stephenson, chapter 6 in this volume.
- 52 Bassett 2004: 227–30.
- 53 Robinson 2011: 234–50.
- 54 Thompson 1950: 117. The pedestals feature olive trees and a serpent.
- 55 Thompson 1950: 119.
- 56 Hannestad 1994: 127 n. 215.
- 57 Frantz 1988: 115; Fowden 1990; Stirling 2005: 206. The edifice has also been identified as a bath complex and associated with Herculus, prefect of Illyricum in 408–12.
- 58 Eusebius, *VC* 3.3.1–2. Stephenson 2009: 185.
- 59 Under Theodosius II, relief scenes of the gigantomachy may have been relocated to the baths in the Palace of Marina.
- 60 *Pan.*, 44. Tr. in Nixon 1987: 51.
- 61 Anguipedes also adorn the Temple of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Yzeures, an arch at the Besançon (Vesontio) celebrating a victory of Marcus Aurelius in AD 172, and the imperial cult temple in the Severan Forum of Leptis Magna. McGowen 2010: 38–41.

5 | The bronze goose from the Hippodrome

ROWENA LOVERANCE

Introduction

There are just three surviving bronze sculptures associated with the Hippodrome of Constantinople: the Serpent Column, the four horses of San Marco and a life-size goose (fig. 5.1).¹ The significance of the first two is well established. The goose, however, languishes in relative obscurity. Since its first modern publication in 1994,² it now regularly features in exhibitions,³ and in discussions both of the decoration of the Hippodrome *spina*,⁴ and of Byzantine fountains,⁵ but almost everything about it remains stubbornly obscure.

The starting point of any enquiry has to be the British Museum register for 1859, the year the goose entered the museum's collections. This reads as follows:

Bronze figure of a goose probably a fountain, it divides below the neck. One leg broken off, and the foot of the other injured. H. 1 ft. 11in. Purchased from M. Bollinot. £40.0.0. Catalogued as [bronze] no. 1887. Stated to have been found in the Hippodrome Constantinople. In building a Turkish house.⁶

Forty years later, in the Museum's Bronzes catalogue,⁷ many of the same points were reiterated, with some tantalising additions:

No. 1887 Goose, probably part of a fountain. Round its neck is a twisted necklace; the beak forms a spout, the pipe dividing below the neck.

Ht. 23 in. Found in the Hippodrome (At-Meidan), Constantinople; acquired 1859.

Legs broken.

One significant point not referred to in either of these descriptions is the number of apertures in the goose: as well as a narrow opening at the beak, there is a small hole in the belly between the legs, c.5 cm square. There is also a modern hole in its left side which allows the interior of the belly to be viewed.

These items of information have been repeated, in various combinations, in all subsequent publications of the goose. Having done little more than



Fig 5.1. Bronze figure of a goose, British Museum, BM 1959, 0601.1.

Photograph: Trustees of the British Museum (with permission).

repeat them myself when I included the goose in the sculpture entries for the British Museum's 1994 Byzantium exhibition, I have long had it in mind to return to the matter and try to do the goose more justice.⁸ Since the association of the goose with a fountain has such a long history going right back to its arrival in the British Museum in 1859, this volume gives me an appropriate opportunity to do so.

Circumstances of discovery

The goose was sold to the Museum in 1859 by a M. Bollinot, who was said to be in the service of Sir Stratford Canning, Britain's indefatigable ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Canning served as ambassador in 1825–7 and again in 1842–58; in 1852 he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. He is well known for his long-standing support for British archaeological projects in Turkey, sponsoring Austen Layard's work at Nimrud from 1845 and Charles Newton's work at Halikarnassos in 1856–7. Newton wrote warmly of the support he received from Canning,⁹ and corresponded

with him from Bodrum practically every day. Layard too, on first encountering Canning in Constantinople in 1842, judged him as the right man for the job in hand: 'Sir Stratford Canning, our ambassador here, appears a man of firm and decided character, and well calculated to play a part in the approaching struggle.'¹⁰ Ironically, however, when the approaching struggle arrived, in the form of the Crimean War, it was to bring Canning's career to an abrupt end. He resigned from the Diplomatic Service in 1858, and lived thereafter in retirement. It is possible that his departure also brought an end to M. Bollinot's service; if so, that might account for the date of the goose's arrival in the British Museum.



Fig 5.2. Photograph of the hippodrome at Istanbul by James D. Robertson in 1850. Photograph: RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY (with permission).

The goose is stated to have been found in the Hippodrome during the building of a Turkish house.¹¹ Contemporary views of the Hippodrome, such as one made for Charles Texier in 1833,¹² or a photograph taken by James D. Robertson in 1850 (fig. 5.2) show the Atmeydanı as a largely open space, but with some houses around the periphery; in 1927 Stanley Casson, working in the north-west corner, commented that 'It was impossible to excavate more widely in this region because the area dug was closely hemmed in by occupied houses, none of which were of any great stability.'¹³ Only a few years before, in 1855, Charles Newton had himself been excavating in the Hippodrome, around the base of the Serpent Column, excavations which were continued after Newton's departure to Bodrum in January 1856 by Lord Napier, Canning's secretary, exposing the bases of the Masonry Obelisk and the Egyptian Obelisk. Additionally, a liberal application of acid to the base of the Serpent Column by O. Frick and P. Dethier revealed its famous inscription.¹⁴ It is of course tempting to link these British excavations with the appearance of the goose, apparently from the same location, just a few years later, but despite this tantalising proximity in time and in the persons of Stratford Canning and Francis Napier, I have not yet found any basis for drawing a direct link between the digs and the obscure official M. Bollinot.

Date of production

Neither of its two nineteenth-century publications offered any suggestion as to the likely date of the goose's creation. In more recent publications, it has been generally presumed to date from the fourth century AD. It seems, however, that this date may derive as much from its find-spot, and from the presumed date of the creation of the Byzantine Hippodrome, as from reference to any comparable objects. Small bronze animal figurines are common enough in Roman art, but larger scale figures have not often survived. One comparable large-scale animal bronze is a life-size cockerel found in the river Saône at Lyon, which entered the Louvre's collections in 1858.¹⁵ It is thought to be of second-century AD date, of local Gallo-Roman production and to have been a votive offering, probably accompanying a figure of Mercury. It is, though, considerably more naturalistic in its rendering than our goose – its movement and posture, the arrangement of its feathers and the detailed surface treatment all contrast with the more regular, smoothed-out appearance of the goose.



Fig 5.3. Copper alloy vessel mount in the shape of a goose head, with niello silver inlaid eyes, BM 2001, 0701.1.

Photograph: Trustees of the British Museum (with permission).

An unexpected parallel occurs in the form of a metal detector find from Hampshire, in England (fig. 5.3).¹⁶ This is a bronze handle in the shape of a goose's head, with eyes in silver niello, once part of a shallow metal bowl which would probably have had four such handles. Similar copper-alloy bowls are found in first-century AD Italian contexts and this piece was probably made in Italy. The long beak, the almost reptilian shape of the head and the flat, regular incisions representing feathers are all features which it shares with our Constantinopolitan goose, which also has incisions in the eyes in which a filling, such as silver niello, could have been set. On this analogy, it is possible that the British Museum goose could have already been antique before it arrived in Constantinople.

Context

If we are searching, as the find-spot of the Hippodrome would suggest, for a public context for the display of a life-size bronze sculpture, it is of course no easy task to locate a stray goose among the statuary of fourth-century Constantinople. It might be easier if we could agree on its probable original companions: but this is by no means straightforward, since there is a variety of historical or mythological contexts in which a goose might feature.

The one which probably first springs to mind is that of the goose as an erotic symbol, representing sexual union. The image of Aphrodite riding on a goose appears most notably on the lovely white-ground kylix attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter, now in the British Museum, and on countless terracotta figurines.¹⁷ Less frequently found, but more useful for this search, are versions where the goose remains firmly earth-bound, as on a fourth-century BC bronze mirror case, where the goose lurks under the table, or a steatite palette from first- to second-century AD Gandhara, where the goose gets the opportunity to demonstrate its more playful characteristics by helping Aphrodite chastise Cupid by pecking at his knee.¹⁸ A first-century BC/first-century AD lead-glaze terracotta figurine offers perhaps the best model of what a full-size statue of Aphrodite with goose might have looked like: the goddess stands with her right arm raised and her left arm lowered, both hands grasping her cloak which also protectively shelters the goose standing beside her.¹⁹

Other goddesses are occasionally accompanied by geese. A winged female figure, probably Nike, appears on a third-century BC bronze mirror, holding a wreath in her right hand and a goose, or swan, close to her body in her left.²⁰ Highly unusual representations of a goose in the company of an armed female figure, possibly an 'armed Aphrodite' but more likely Athena, appear on a group of red-figure vases for a brief period around 470 BC, but then disappear equally suddenly.²¹ And from the literary record, Pliny offers a variety of mortal characters for whom a goose is said to have conceived a passion: a beautiful boy named Amphilochus, a lute-playing lady named Glaucus and an otherwise unknown philosopher named Lacydes, whose goose was his constant companion and 'would never leave him, either in public or when at the bath, by night or by day'.²² But none of these have, to my knowledge, left any visual representation.

The second principal context in which geese appear is as guardians. This is of course connected with the legendary role of the Capitoline geese, sacred to Juno, which supposedly saved Rome from the Gauls in 390 BC.²³ The historical foundation of this story has recently come under critical scrutiny,²⁴ not least because the ancient sources themselves disagree: whereas Livy has a gaggle of geese, Virgil reduces this to a single silver goose, fluttering in a golden colonnade.²⁵ However unhistorical the story may be, it came to play a key role in Rome's self-perception. It had gained visual expression at least by the second century AD, the date of a fragmentary marble relief found near the basilica of the forum at Ostia, which depicts a temple, presumably that of Juno Moneta on the Capitol, with three geese with flapping wings in front of it.²⁶ Other relief fragments

featured other stories from Rome's early history, including the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus and the rape of the Sabine women. Helbig notes that the geese appear stylistically earlier than the date of the relief, and suggests this may be because it is echoing an earlier version, but this remains a unique representation.²⁷

The events of 390 BC were commemorated in a very well-attested ritual which took place in Rome every year on 3 August,²⁸ when geese were carried in procession on litters amid purple and gold,²⁹ whereas dogs, which had failed to raise the alarm in face of the Gauls, were impaled or crucified on elder-stakes.³⁰ Both sets of animals were maintained at state expense; and the place of sacrifice was the Circus Maximus.³¹ This ritual was clearly going strong into the Christian period: it is referred to rather disparagingly, but definitely in the present tense, by two fourth-century writers. For Arnobius, 'it is unseemly, and subversive of their power and majesty, to entrust the guardianship of the highest deities to the care of dogs, and when you are seeking for some means of frightening thieves so as to keep them away, not to beg it from the gods themselves, but to set and place it in the cackling of geese'.³² Ambrose is even more sarcastic, 'Your gods were sleeping, but the geese were awake. And so on those festal days you perform sacrifices, not to Jupiter, but to a goose; your gods give way to the geese, who were once their defenders'.³³

It is interesting to note that in Byzantium too, a very similar story came to be told about a miraculous escape thanks to animal intervention, but this time, it was the dogs who were the saviours. When Philip of Macedon attacked Byzantium in 346 BC, the alarm was apparently raised by dogs.³⁴ This story has survived in Hesychios of Miletos, so must presumably have been current at least in sixth-century Constantinople. Given the continuing significance of the ritual in Rome, the connection to the Circus Maximus on which the Byzantine Hippodrome was modelled and the apparent adaptation of the original literary material to fit Byzantium's own historical circumstances, it would seem at least a possibility that some re-enactment of the story of the Capitoline geese may have been held in Constantinople, with which our goose may have been connected.

A third and more light-hearted set of possibilities is opened up by the probable appearance of geese among the various birds harnessed to chariots in mosaic parodies of races in the Hippodrome. On the third-century Dionysiac mosaic found near Cologne Cathedral, only two panels survive, which have parrots and another pair of birds described variously as porphyryions, hens and guinea-fowl;³⁵ but the complete

fourth-century mosaic from Piazza Armerina has red flamingos, white geese, blue wading-birds and grey-green wood pigeons completing a circuit of a hippodrome, presumably standing respectively for the Reds, Whites, Blues and Greens.³⁶ A very similar but far less well-preserved mosaic from Carthage has parrots below the *spina* and geese, or possibly ducks, above.³⁷ Even if the participation of geese in these representations is agreed, it is hard to imagine such a *jeu d'esprit* being executed in bronze. However there is the tantalising detail in the British Museum's first published description of the goose, of a 'twisted silver necklace', although this sadly no longer exists,³⁸ which might possibly support such a context. Alternatively, this may simply be a rather more vivid description of what a later conservator referred to as 'remains of lead (?) on neck bezel', which was presumably merely a sealing device.³⁹ If however a statue of geese harnessed to a chariot might be considered a serious possibility, a bronze statuette of Cybele on a cart drawn by lions, from Rome, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated to c.AD 150–200, although presumably with a votive function and hence very different in purpose, may just give an idea of what such a chariot group might have looked like.⁴⁰

The four chariots in the Cologne and Piazza Armerina mosaics are also thought to represent the seasons. At Cologne, the seasonal attributes are being drawn along in the carts, rakes and scythes signifying summer and grapes signifying autumn. At Piazza Armerina the seasons are indicated by the differing neck-wreaths, but the attributions are not entirely clear: the geese seem to be wearing reeds round their necks, which Gentili suggests signify summer – he thinks the seasons follow the same sequence as the race, from top right to bottom right, and that the green wood-pigeons, with neck-wreaths of leaves, signify winter. Jocelyn Toynbee however prefers the geese's reed necklace to signify winter, and hence has the sequence running in reverse order, from the victorious green wood-pigeons signifying summer back to the start of the race in spring.⁴¹ At Cologne the birds representing winter have not survived, while on the mosaic at Carthage there are not thought to be any seasonal attributes. The connection of geese with winter is most firmly made on Roman sarcophagi. The group of 'Seasons Sarcophagi', dated to the first half of the third century, often feature either one or a pair of geese hanging from the hand of the young man personifying winter;⁴² these representations certainly strengthen the association of geese with winter, but since the fowl they feature are very definitely dead, they are hardly germane to the present enquiry.

Known monuments of Constantinople

I have tried to conjure up three possible contexts for the possible display of the Hippodrome Goose, whether in a public or private setting: as a companion to Aphrodite, as part of a group of guardians of Rome and perhaps by implication of Constantinople, and as one of a pair of light-hearted participants in mock chariot-races, representing the passage of the seasons.

None of these, however, can be associated with any of the surviving accounts of the sculptural monuments of Constantinople.⁴³ This is hardly surprising, since the frustration of dealing with these accounts is well known, but it is nonetheless disappointing. The earlier of the two topographical descriptions, the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, probably dating from the eighth century, offers two Aphrodites, one in the Senate House, together with a statue of Artemis, and one in the group originally at the Hagia Sophia, which Justinian later distributed around the city,⁴⁴ but in neither case are any attributes or companions of Aphrodite referred to. The same is true of the statue of Aphrodite which 'served to detect unchaste women until the sister of the Empress Sophia, wife of Justin II, was exposed in this fashion, and had the statue destroyed.'⁴⁵ We are, of course, told that 'Many of the statues in the Hippodrome were of ancient origin and depicted strange animals, mythological figures and events and pagan gods.'⁴⁶ But compared to monuments such as the Scylla, our simple goose hardly qualifies as a strange animal. I am not aware of any textual references to the sculptural monuments of the city which might chime, however remotely, with any of the other possible goose contexts which I have suggested.

Function as fountain

I now turn to the goose's function, which is its main interest in the context of this volume. From its first scholarly appearance, it has been proposed that the goose functioned as a fountain.⁴⁷ This suggestion is supported by a general association of geese and ducks with fountains which can be traced back to classical times. There is at least one well-known Roman sculptural parallel, from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii,⁴⁸ where a pair of bronzes decorating the peristyle garden each depicts a boy holding a large duck, from whose beak a stream of water jetted into a basin set between the two statues. Robert Ousterhout and Henry Maguire have also drawn our attention to the marble relief portraying a goose, incorporated into an Ottoman fountain of 1537 in the Kazlıçeşme district.

Maguire dates this, by reference to the Constantine Lips reliefs, to the tenth or eleventh centuries and suggests it may originally have graced a fountain in the gardens of the Aretai Palace.⁴⁹

Animal statuary frequently doubled up as fountains in the Roman world. The Metropolitan Museum's Cybele group, which has already been referred to, functioned as a fountain: the lions have wide open mouths, from which spouts would have projected. A bronze leaping panther, said to be from Adana, now in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island, also has a wide open mouth, and its hollow vertical stand would have disguised an easy supply of water.⁵⁰ A third example, a bronze plunging dolphin, said to be from Istanbul, now in the British Museum, has the clearest example of a mouth acting as a spout.⁵¹

There are also of course frequent descriptions of bronze birds in association with fountains in the Great Palace and elsewhere. On the fountain in the atrium of Basil I's Nea Church, for example, the *Vita Basilii* records that 'all round the upper rim of the fountain the artist has fashioned cocks, goats and rams of bronze, and these, by means of pipes, vomit forth jets of water onto the underlying floor'.⁵² Fountains like these were clearly in a direct line of descent from the gardens at Pompeii.

The fountain theory is reinforced by the discovery by the British excavators of the Hippodrome in 1855–6 and in 1927–8 of a water conduit along much of the length of the Hippodrome, with branches extending across to the *spina*.⁵³ Although the main conduit may be late Byzantine in date, some at least were found incorporated in the masonry of the Sphendone and in the Hippodrome at the lowest depths.⁵⁴ Furthermore, both the other Hippodrome monuments, the Serpent Column and the Masonry Obelisk, are known to have been transformed into fountains, possibly as early as the fourth century. In the case of the Masonry Obelisk, the excavators in 1927 discovered beneath its three-stepped pedestal a passage leading to a point below the axis of the obelisk, from where a small hole ran vertically upwards through the pedestal. In the hole and in the passage were found traces of lead piping, indicating that the pedestal had once served as a fountain. The water rose up the pipe and emerged through four holes, one on the centre of each side of the lower edge of the inscribed base before falling down the three steps of the pedestal.⁵⁵ In the case of the Serpent Column, a hole was bored through the marble block on which it stands, so as to allow water to pass from the conduit up the hollow shaft of the column. The marble block, which is not aligned with the axis of the Hippodrome, was presumably added when the column was adapted into a fountain.

From all this watery evidence, it would seem to follow that, were the goose to have originally stood on the *spina*, it would have been in good company as a fountain.

However, the main reason for identifying the goose as a fountain has always been the phrase which appears regularly in its published descriptions, of a pipe which extends from its mouth and which then divides below the neck.⁵⁶ The mention of a division in the pipe would seem to offer further support for the fountain theory, since its purpose could be as an overflow pipe, so as to maintain a constant pressure – and hence a constant direction and distance of flow – in the water spouting from the goose's mouth. The head and neck of the goose are detachable, which might appear to preclude its use as a fountain, but if the joint is well sealed, and if the water is being passed through the body of the goose by means of a pipe, this would not be an insuperable problem. It was one of the main purposes of the current enquiry to ascertain whether this pipe still exists in the neck of the goose, or whether, like the twisted wire, it has since disappeared. The 1994 conservation report had already cast doubt on its existence, and further scientific examination by the British Museum's Department of Scientific Research has now determined beyond doubt that no such pipe now exists, and that it has left no trace on the internal fabric.⁵⁷ So the historic description from the nineteenth-century catalogues is now the only evidence for the fountain theory.

Function as audio device

Water is of course not the only emission to be considered. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Byzantine craftsmen were clearly capable of producing birds which sang as well as birds which served as fountains. Georgios Monachos describes the emperor Theophilos' automata, which included a gold tree in which perched small birds emitting mechanical music,⁵⁸ while Liutprand of Cremona's famous account of his encounter with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus tells of 'a certain tree of gilt bronze, whose branches, similarly gilt bronze, were filled with birds of different sizes, which emitted the songs of the different birds corresponding to their species'.⁵⁹ In this, as in other respects, the craftsmen were working in a clear line of transmission from the classical period. One of the *pneumata* described in Heron of Alexandria's first-century AD treatise,⁶⁰ a singing fountain, has recently been reconstructed. It operated by the movement of water from an upper basin into a lower one, forcing air into a pipe connected to a bronze bird on

a branch; the air was then forced into the bird's body and through a whistle placed in its mouth, thus reproducing a bird's twittering.⁶¹

If sound is a likely emission to consider for our goose, there may be a useful parallel among medieval bronzes from the Islamic world. The well-known griffin from the Cathedral at Pisa and its more recently discovered relative, a lion currently on loan from the Mari-Cha Collection Ltd to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5.4), are similarly monumental bronzes: the griffin is 107 cm and the lion, whose legs are incomplete, is 73 cm, and would probably have been only a little shorter than the griffin when complete.⁶² The date and provenance of both pieces are uncertain: the Pisa griffin is currently thought to be from late eleventh- or twelfth-century Spain, and the lion so resembles it in its proportions, characteristics, decoration and Kufic-style inscription, that it is probable that the two pieces come from the same workshop. Although the lion has a slightly open mouth with a central aperture, which could have projected water, neither of the pieces show any trace of a hydraulic system. However, x-rays have recently demonstrated that both pieces have similar, though



Fig 5.4. New York lion, Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.2000.84.

Photograph: Mari-Cha Collection Ltd (with permission).

not identical, globular vessels in their interiors, also cast from bronze. Each is placed so as to open forwards towards the belly and is fixed in place by soldering on to the back. In the light of this remarkable discovery, it is now suggested that both beasts may have acted as containers for a bagpipe-like device, which could transmit and augment sound. Air would be pumped through a tube set in the opening of the belly; when the airbag was fully inflated, the air would be forced out through a reed-pipe leading towards the mouth.

The Hippodrome Goose exhibits no such internal metabolism, but it would have been quite possible for its body to have contained a textile bag, with the whole body of the goose, being smaller than that of the griffin or the lion, acting as an acoustic device. The small hole beneath the belly would then have served to facilitate the necessary bellows action. Descriptions of the 390 BC siege make clear the extent to which the Romans valued geese for the noise they could make: John Lydus uses the word *ανακλαγγάντων*, Servius has *clangore anseris excitatus*.⁶³ I would argue that, unproven as the fountain possibility must now be considered, the new context provided by the Islamic bronzes suggests that the Hippodrome Goose may be a survival not of the singing birds, but of the cackling geese of Byzantium.

Notes

- 1 BM 1859, 6-1.1. H. 58 cm. At the British Museum I am grateful to Lesley Fitton and Alex Truscott of the Greek and Roman Department for facilitating access to the goose, and to Janet Ambers and Marilyn Hockey, of the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, for technical assistance. I am also grateful to Anna Contadini and Amanda Claridge for help with photographs. I should like to thank Paul Stephenson and Ingela Nilsson for the invitation to take part in the conference, and Eunice Maguire, Jeffrey Featherstone and Alexandra Villing for their continuing reflections on the goose and its contexts.
- 2 Buckton 1994: s.v. Bronze goose, no. 22 (R. Loverance).
- 3 Hartley 2006: s.v. Life-sized statue of a goose, no. 115, fig. 50 (S. Walker). The BM's online record for the goose records its loan to the exhibition, *Byzanz Pracht und Alltag*, in the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, in 2010, but it does not appear in the catalogue, Frings 2010. It also featured in the exhibition *Stadia: Sport and Vision in Architecture* at the Sir John Soane Museum, London, 6 July–30 Sept. 2012.
- 4 Bassett 2004: 216–17, no. 132, pl. 25; Bardill 2010b: 169, fig. 9.20.
- 5 H. Maguire 2000: 251–264, fig. 12.

- 6 Register, Greek and Roman Department, British Museum.
- 7 H. B. Walters 1899: 287, no. 1887.
- 8 Buckton 1994: s.v. Bronze goose, no. 22 (R. Loverance).
- 9 Letter from Charles Newton to E. Hammond, Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 18 Nov. 1856, BL Add MS 46889. As Stephenson shows in this volume, Canning was also responsible for securing Newton's permission to dig in the Hippodrome in 1855.
- 10 Letter from Austen Layard to E. L. Mitford, Constantinople, 12 Aug. 1842, BL Add. MS 58159.
- 11 Register, Greek and Roman Department, British Museum.
- 12 Charles Texier, *View of the Hippodrome, Atmeydani*, c.1833, © Royal Institute of British Architects.
- 13 Casson 1928: 6.
- 14 This is explored fully in Stephenson 2016. Bardill 2010a: 83–4 supplies an outline, although one must correct some details.
- 15 Bronze cock, from Lyon, H. 56.8 cm, Louvre Br. 1092; Hachet 1986: 46, fig. 52.
- 16 Bronze handle in shape of a goose head, from Hampshire, UK, BM 2001,7-1.1, L 6.0 cm.
- 17 Kylix, from Attica, c.450 BC, British Museum 1864,10-07.77; examples of terracotta figurines include one from Taranto, c.380 BC, British Museum 1908,04-12.1 and one from Cyprus, third–second century BC, British Museum 1881, 08-24.102.
- 18 Bronze mirror, from Corinth, c.380 BC, British Museum 1888, 12–13.1; steatite palette, from Gandhara, first–second century AD, British Museum 1973,06-18.1.
- 19 Lead-glaze terracotta figurine, from Turkey, c.50 BC–AD 50, 2003, 10–24.4.
- 20 Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 54.1160.
- 21 Villing 2008: 171–7, figs. 1–8.
- 22 Pliny, *NH* 10.26; Keller 1887: 296–7.
- 23 Diod. 14.116.6; Livy 5.47.3.
- 24 Horsfall 1981: 298–311; Ziolkowski 1993: 207–9.
- 25 Virgil, *Aen.* 8.625–58.
- 26 Museo Ostiense, inv. 620. Becatti 1943–5: 31–46; Nash 1961: 515–17; Helbig 1972: 3116.
- 27 The role of geese as guardians may account for their also being associated with Mars, though this appears only in the northern provinces of the Roman Empire; see Mattern 1992: 93–129.
- 28 John Lydus, *De mensibus*, 4.114.
- 29 Serv. Dan. *Ad Aen.* 8, 652.
- 30 Pliny, *NH* 29.57.
- 31 Pliny, *NH* 29.57.
- 32 Arnobius, *Adversos Gentes* 6.20.
- 33 Ambrose, *Hexaemeron* 5.13.44.

- 34 Hesychios of Miletos, *Compendium of Universal History*, in Karl Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* 1885: IV, 151, para. 27; see also Kaldellis 2005: 396.
- 35 Toynbee 1973: 281 (porphyryions); Doppelfeld 1964: 16, fig. 4 (hens); Fremersdorf 1956: 14, pl. 10 (guinea-fowl).
- 36 Gentili 1959: 86–7, no. 41, with colour plate; Hartley 2006: s.v. Life-sized statue of a goose, no. 115, fig. 50 (S. Walker)
- 37 *Melanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (1969): 242–5, fig. 20
- 38 H. B. Walters 1899: 287, no. 1887.
- 39 Department of Conservation report, visual inspection only, 18.11.1994. The conservator also noted 'No technical features visible on the interior, other than casting flaws and excrescences.'
- 40 Bronze statuette of Cybele on a cart drawn by lions; 30.5 × 139.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum, New York, 97.22.24. The original cart, harness and throne no longer survive.
- 41 Gentili 1959: 86–7, no. 41; Toynbee 1973: 281.
- 42 Kassel, Landgrafenmuseum: Bieber 1915: 42, no. 86, pl. 34; Hanfmann 1951: no. 461, pls. 20, 28. Palazzo Conservatori, Rome: Stuart-Jones 1926: 49, pl. 17; Hanfmann 1951: no. 462, pl. 33. Dumbarton Oaks: Hanfmann 1951: 10, pls. 2, 7, though the attribute of winter is missing.
- 43 Cameron and Herrin 1984 discusses the relationship between the eighth-century *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the tenth-century *Patria Constantinopoleos*, which incorporates much of the earlier material.
- 44 *Parastaseis* 8 and 11, in Cameron and Herrin 1984: 68–9 and 70–1.
- 45 Mango 1963: 61.
- 46 Cameron and Herrin 1984: 249.
- 47 H. B. Walters 1899: 287, no. 1887.
- 48 Jashemski 1979: 35–6, fig. 54.
- 49 H. Maguire 2000: 256, figs. 6 and 7.
- 50 Mitten 1975: 162–4, no. 47, pls. a–d: Panther, first–third century, Acc. No. 36.136; L 19, H 13.3, W 4.5, H of supporting shaft 5.5 cm.
- 51 H. B. Walters 1899: 289, no. 1922, H. 23.5 cm, donated by Sir Augustus Franks.
- 52 *Vita Basilii* 85 in Mango 1986.
- 53 Newton 1865: II, 27–8; Casson 1928: 5, 13. See the introduction to this volume.
- 54 Casson 1928: 26.
- 55 Casson 1928: 11–12. Jonathan Bardill remarks that this fountain presumably existed from the time of the obelisk's construction, which he dates to 330, since he finds it difficult to imagine how the necessary holes could have been drilled after its erection. See Bardill 2010b: 155.
- 56 1859: 'Bronze figure of a goose probably a fountain, it divides below the neck'; 1899: 'the beak forms a spout, the pipe dividing below the neck'.
- 57 Department of Scientific Research, Radiography report, 15.6.2013: image taken at 320kV, showing no evidence of any pipework. 'It just looks like a standard hollow casting.'

58 Georgius Monachus, ed. Bekker 1838: 793.

59 *De cerimoniis*, 2.15 in Moffatt and Tall 2012; Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 6.5, tr. Squatriti 2007; Brett 1954: 477–87; Berger 2006: 63–77. The *De cerimoniis* mentions three automata, a tree and singing birds, roaring lions and moving beasts, as well as water-organs and the moving throne; Liutprand omits the additional moving beasts.

60 *Pneum.* 1.15, 2.4.

61 Reconstructed as part of an exhibition, Ancient Gardens from Babylon to Rome, held at the Boboli Gardens of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, 8 May–28 Oct. 2007. See de Pasquale 2007.

62 Contadini 2002: 65, 69; for the New York lion see also Ekserdjian 2012: s.v Islamic Lion no. 62 (R. Camber).

63 John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.114; Serv. Dan. *Ad Aen.* 8.652.

PAUL STEPHENSON

The Serpent Column is among the most enduring and important monuments of classical antiquity. Today, it is one small part of a large monumental complex, the archaeological park inscribed in 1985 as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, 'Historic Areas of Istanbul'. This includes the late Roman and Byzantine Hippodrome, now landscaped and planted, where the Serpent Column, a twisting bronze stump, emerges from beneath ground level (fig. 6.1), dwarfed by two rather more impressive obelisks between which it stands (see above, fig. 5.2). The column has always been part of a monumental complex, first at Delphi and later in Constantinople, today Istanbul. A bronze column forged from the arms and armour of the vanquished Persians, the Serpent Column was the central shaft of the Plataian Tripod, erected for a singular victory enjoyed by disparate *poleis* and as a monument to a seminal moment in Hellenic history. The Battle of Plataia, fought in September 479 BC, was a second major Greek victory, coming a year after a sea battle at Salamis. Together, these encounters ended the Persian invasions of the Greek mainland.

The Plataian Tripod, a towering sculpture in bronze and gold, was one of three votive offerings to the gods, at Delphi, Olympia and Isthmia. That to Delphic Apollo, Herodotos (9.81) describes in this manner: 'When all the stuff [i.e. Persian spoils] had been collected, a tenth was set apart for the god at Delphi, and from this was made the gold tripod which stands next to the altar on the three-headed bronze snake.' In 356 BC, a little over a century after its dedication, the golden tripod surmounting the Plataian monument was stolen by the Phokians when they seized the sanctuary at Delphi in the Third Sacred War. We hear nothing more of the bronze pillar until many centuries later, when it appears in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. Scholars have maintained that the date at which the Serpent Column reached Constantinople, as well as its original location in that city, cannot be known. It is true that we have no unequivocal written or visual confirmation that the column stood in the Hippodrome before the fourteenth century. Yet, by the sixteenth century, it was well established in the accounts of those who visited Constantinople that the column had been placed where it now stood by Constantine 'the Great' upon refounding the city. Moreover,



Fig 6.1. The Serpent Column in the Hippodrome, today Istanbul's Atmeydanı. Photograph: Jeffery Archive, University of Oxford (with permission).

it has frequently been claimed, since the start of the fifteenth century, that the Serpent Column once served as a fountain. Reports to this effect have always been fantastic, but the basic premise is supported by archaeological excavation. This chapter offers a summary of the available evidence, which proves that the Serpent Column was indeed a fountain, but perhaps not one as magical or marvellous as many have supposed.

Material evidence

The Serpent Column, a hollow bronze pillar which once terminated in three projecting serpentine protomes, would appear to be the perfect object to serve as a fountain. Once held to have been cast in two halves, joined along an invisible seam,¹ a detailed examination by Kurt Kluge determined

that it was cast in one piece. This would make the spiral pillar among the earliest and largest bronze sculptures produced as a single piece by a hollow lost wax casting technique.² There is no reason to surmise, however, that the necks and heads were also cast as a single piece with the twisted column, and it would follow established practice for them to have been cast separately and attached with flow welds using molten bronze.³ Since the necks and heads were separated from the column in 1700, no trace of the original joins have survived, but it is probable that these welds eventually failed, having supported the weight of the projecting snake protomes and their overhanging necks for nearly 2,200 years.

Today, headless and neckless, the spiral column is 535 cm tall, and stands on a marble base of another 60 cm. The hollow bronze shaft comprises a spiral of twenty-nine coils that taper in diameter as they increase in breadth from base to top. The lowest coil has a diameter of 63 cm. The thickness of the bronze is uneven, but is generally thicker (1.7–2.0 cm) towards the bottom and thinner (1.1–1.3 cm) towards the top.⁴ The surface of the bronze is greatly scratched and in places marked by deep cuts, probably made by weapons and tools. There is a large opening at the base of the column (fig. 6.2), which was deliberately cut, and two larger holes and two



Fig 6.2. Base of the Serpent Column showing a large hole cut in the bronze and a channel carved in the marble base, both to allow water to exit.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

smaller holes are visible higher up. Two long deep cracks run vertical up the uppermost coils.

The level of the ground on which the column stands was raised substantially with the construction of the Sultan Ahmed mosque, in 1609–10. From then until 1855 the lower fifteen coils of the column were buried beneath a layer of earth (see fig. 5.2, above). In 1855 an excavation was conducted by the British classicist, C. T. Newton, who remained unconvinced that this was the original bronze pillar of the Plataian Tripod, which may explain his willingness to depart before excavations were complete.⁵ A decade later he would write:

I must confess ... in the general treatment of the surface of the Hippodrome bronze [I could not] recognize that force in the indication of structure, those refined gradations in the modelling which characterize Greek art even at so early a period as the Delphic dedication; and it was the want of *style* which led me, on first examining the serpent, to consider it a Byzantine restoration from the original, – an opinion which has been strongly maintained by Professor Curtius, but which has been condemned by the general voice of German archaeologists.⁶

When Newton left Constantinople prematurely, those German archaeologists took over, clambering into the hole Newton had dug to expose an inscription and to identify, inside the column, a stamped lead pipe. Lord Napier was then authorised to continue excavation, in April 1856, which by the efforts of forty British soldiers – ‘a company of sappers’ – exposed also the bases of the Theodosian and Masonry Obelisks.⁷

The white marble base on which the bronze pillar stands today appears to be a reused, trimmed capital. According to Newton’s account of his 1855 excavation, ‘After digging to the depth of rather more than 6 feet, I came to the base of the serpent, a rough-hewn stone plinth, evidently of the Byzantine period.’ A more recent examination by Didier Laroche has confirmed that the bronze pillar rests not directly in a shallow circular depression carved into the marble, but upon cast lead footings that connect bronze to marble. In gaps between the lead footings Laroche was able to slip his hand between the marble and bronze. Additionally, four blobs of metal, apparently also lead, were identified within the lower spirals, probably serving better to anchor the bronze to the lead footing.⁸ The ends of two lead footings can be seen clearly as a material with an irregular pocked surface between the bronze spiral – marked 1 and 8 in blue ink on white tabs which had been attached to the monument in spring 2012 – and white stone (see fig. 6.2). Green staining can also be seen clearly on the marble, where water has long passed across the bronze from within the column. The reasons

for this were elucidated by Newton in 1855, and subsequently by Stanley Casson in 1927–8. According to Newton:

A few feet from the plinth, at the depth of 8 feet below the surface, was an ancient aqueduct formed by cylindrical earthen pipes jointed one into the other, and laid continuously with an oblong block of marble 16 inches long, through which an earthen pipe passed lengthways ... Close to this aqueduct was a foundation of tiles bound in a strong mortar, which appeared to be the remains of a small square tank. Within three-quarters of a yard of the serpent was a marble archway, like that of a *cloaca*, and near it a drain large enough to admit a man's body. The serpent ... being placed in the centre of the tank, has probably been used at some period as a fountain.⁹

At the base of the coils, there is a large hole in the bronze and below it the marble base has been carved to form a channel reaching almost to the bottom of the 60 cm block at its front (fig. 6.2). It is clear from close inspection both of the large hole in the bronze and the channel in the marble base that the modifications are deliberate. The edges of the channel in the marble are straight and regular, and there are tool marks on the bronze.

Prior to Newton's dig, a water conduit had been discovered in the vicinity of the Serpent Column.¹⁰ This was located several feet from the base of the column and, more significantly, it was a foot higher than the marble base on which the column stood, so cannot have supplied it directly.¹¹ The conduit supplied the Sultan Ahmed Camii, so it was found at a level that the surface of the Hippodrome did not reach until after construction of the mosque began in 1609.¹² The conduit was cleared very shortly after its discovery, during widening and clearance of the Atmeydanı.¹³ In 1927 and 1928, excavations along the axis of the Atmeydanı, for 48 m both parallel to and at right angles to the posited line of the median, the *spina* or *euripos*, revealed many water conduits.¹⁴ According to Stanley Casson, the director of excavations for Oxford University and the British Academy, seven water conduits were identified in the vicinity of the Serpent Column.¹⁵ In Casson's words, the 'basis of the Serpent Column is of peculiar importance in this connexion, since it proves to be founded not on masonry at all, but upon a water-conduit which runs at right-angles to the axis, and which is itself bedded in the yellow clay', a layer that defines the Byzantine levels of the Hippodrome, at that time beneath 4.5 m of black earth. The Serpent Column stood in a tank constructed simply from rubble lined with mortar, from which a larger conduit allowed the water to run off. The marble base on which the column stood Casson determined to be 'an old column capital trimmed and reused'. A hole had been bored in this, 'through which it is possible to look up from

the conduit inside and through the column itself'.¹⁶ This hole can still be seen when looking into the column at its base (fig. 6.2).

If water entered the column from the conduit below through a pipe inserted in the bored hole, in the manner described by Casson, one must imagine that much of it exited through the hole in the bronze column's lowest spirals and associated channel in the marble base, cascading gently into the pool below. The hole at the base of the column is not unlike the lowest spout of a multi-part fountain depicted in the late eleventh-century Annunciation mosaic at Daphni, and the carved marble channel closely resembles that in the Annunciation mosaic in the Chora Church (Kariye Camii, fourteenth century) (see plates 3 and 4).¹⁷ However, there is no material evidence to support the commonly held assumption that water cascaded from the three open mouths of the serpents whose necks and heads projected out from the column.

An upper jaw of a serpent's head, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (founded in 1891), was discovered during the Fossati excavations and restoration work at Hagia Sophia, which took place between 1845 and 1847 (fig. 6.3). Newton records having seen the head in 1852, in a small *ad hoc* museum then set up in St Irene, in the grounds of the Topkapı Palace. He found it to be 'rather coarsely executed and deficient in style'.¹⁸ However, it was then and is still universally regarded as having once been part of the



Fig 6.3. Bronze upper jaw of a serpent, now in Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

Serpent Column. Kluge, in his close examination of whole column, examined the bronze upper jaw. He identified a remnant of hard solder on the upper surface of the jaw but none on the interior where one would expect a pipe to emerge.¹⁹

A stamped lead fistula

When looking at the hole drilled through the marble base on which the Serpent Column stands, Stanley Casson conjectured that a lead pipe would have been inserted into it to connect it to the water supply lines that ran beneath the Hippodrome floor. According to Newton, ‘Subsequently to my excavation, a piece of leaden pipe was discovered inside the serpent, on which was part of an inscription in Byzantine Greek, relating to someone who was praefect, ἐπαρχος, of Constantinople.’²⁰ Newton here refers to a fistula about a metre long, which happens to be the only Byzantine stamped lead pipe ever discovered during excavations in Constantinople, which was identified by Frick and Dethier during their investigation of the column early in 1856. At first, it appeared to them that a lead post was inserted into the column to support it and secure it to its marble base. However, a closer inspection led to their identification inside the column of a ‘heavy leaden pipe, similar to a gutter but closed, some three feet long, mangled at both ends, badly bent and covered in bumps.’²¹ The pipe bore an inscription in letters ‘about one inch high’. According to the transcription made at the time of discovery, the visible letters were recorded and deciphered as: ...AP[O HY] PATWN PATRIKIOU K[AI] EPARCHOU ROM[H THS NEAS], ‘[name missing] proconsul, patrician and prefect of [the New] Rome’.²² Although no name was discerned, nevertheless the inscription, and therefore the original installation of the pipe, were attributed to Proklos,²³ the eparch of New Rome under Theodosios I, who was responsible for raising the Theodosian Obelisk.²⁴ This reading supported a contention, advanced by Dethier, that the Serpent Column became a fountain in the reign of Theodosios, modifying Frick’s suggestion that it followed swiftly on the completion of the Aqueduct of Valens.²⁵ Another reading of the inscription might be *Apo hypaton patrikiou kai eparchou Rom[anos, or Romulianos, or Romulus, etc], or ‘Romanos/Romulianos/Romulus, proconsul, patrician and prefect’*. A Romulianos was eparch of the city of Constantinople from 1 February to 11 July 398.²⁶ The name Romulus is less common, but Romanos is far more common, and many Romanoι were *patrikioi*, although no Romanos is recorded to have been eparch of the city in its earliest centuries.²⁷ The

390s would be a suitable time for the Hippodrome to be plumbed, as part of Theodosios' grand redevelopment of the city. Moreover, the arrival of 'the necessary water' was still recent enough that one might anticipate that existing monuments would be modified to incorporate the display of water.²⁸

Although it is an appealing conclusion, it is not certain that the lead pipe was placed within the Serpent Column during the reign of Theodosios I. Seals show powerful and wealthy men holding the title *apo hypaton* acting as important functionaries in Constantinople and the provinces from the fourth century until c.700, largely in positions related to trade and provisioning (controlling various state monopolies).²⁹ There are a number of seals of *apo hypaton* in the Dumbarton Oaks and Fogg Collections, most dating to the seventh century.³⁰ Only one of those so far published pairs *apo hypaton* with *patrikios*, being the seal of 'Stephanos *apo hypaton*, *patrikios*, *stratiotikos logothetes* and general *kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke* of Paphlagonia'.³¹ Two silver ewers discovered in Syria, in the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung in Bern, are inscribed, 'For the salvation of Megalos, glorious *apo hypaton* and *patrikios*, curator of our most pious sovereign, and for the peace of the soul of Peter, son of Pelagia, and of Nonnous.' These are dated securely by silver stamps to early in the reign of Maurikios (AD 582–602).³² After c.AD 700, just when those men who held it seem to be at the height of their powers and numbers, the rank of *apo hypaton* disappeared. By the time the *Kleterologion*, a precedence list recording bureaucratic and imperial hierarchies, was compiled in 899, *hypatos* was the rank below *spatharios*, and therefore considerably less elevated than *patrikios* and *anthypatos*, the new equivalent to the late Roman rank of proconsul.³³ If the honorific 'proconsul' (*apo hypaton*) was held with the rank of *patrikios* only between the fourth and eighth centuries, then the lead pipe could have been stamped at any point between c.350 and c.700. It may, however, also have been reused at any time after that.

The Serpent Column, therefore, was certainly a fountain, although we do not know when it became one. The discovery of a stamped lead pipe does not allow us to identify a date, and even a range c.350–700 for the production of the pipe does not supply a date at which it was used or reused. Moreover, while the pipe is about a metre in length, suggesting that water may have spurted higher up into the column, equally the pipe may have been extracted from within the marble base, which is 150 cm high. Material evidence, therefore, supports only the contention that water bubbled out of the base of the Serpent Column, where a hole has been cut in the bronze to allow it to discharge into a tank identified by Newton. Water also emerged only from the bases of the Masonry Obelisk and Theodosian Obelisk and

no higher up, although those objects were less well suited to modification. It remains possible, but there is no material evidence that water gushed from the three mouths of the serpents, which has been a commonly held assumption since the column was first identified as a fountain. Let us turn to those accounts and also to visual evidence.

Textual and visual evidence

Two fifteenth-century travellers to Constantinople are the earliest to allege that the Serpent Column was a rather peculiar fountain. The earliest preserved account is by the Italian traveller Buondelmonti, who visited Constantinople in the 1420s, and related that on festival days each snake-head disgorged a different liquid: one water, one wine, one milk.³⁴ The symbolic value of such an adaptation is clear, and it would not have been beyond the wit of a Byzantine engineer in any period to fashion a device to distribute water, wine and milk from the mouths of the Serpent Column on certain days. This might have been achieved with a tower and siphons, or still more easily by placing on top of the column, in the manner of the original golden tripod, a tank with its interior divided into three sections containing different liquids. Three taps emerging from the bottom of the tank might be positioned at or near each serpent's head. There is, however, no evidence that such modifications were ever made, nor did Buondelmonti see such a fountain functioning. Rather, he was reporting a story, which was repeated in a slightly different form shortly afterwards by the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur (c.1435–9).³⁵

There is in Constantinople a great place made by hand, with porticoes and gateways, and arches below, where the people used in ancient times to watch the games when they celebrated their holidays, and in the centre are two snakes entwined, made of gilded brass, and they say that wine poured from the mouth of one and milk from the other. But no one can remember this, and it seems to me that too much credit must not be attached to the story.

Tafur does not mention the third serpent's head, which suggests that he did not see the statue. He claims in the same passage to have seen in the Hippodrome a statue 'of brass, where merchants who could not agree on a price' would go to receive supernatural arbitration. In fact, no such statue stood in the Hippodrome in the fifteenth century, and the tradition had been transferred from the bronze hands of the *modion*.³⁶ Giovan-Maria Angiolello would report half a century later, and more accurately, that the tradition had

in fact been transferred to a marble statue of a seated man, placed within 'a small building of bricks in the form of three little pillars'.³⁷ Pero Tafur implies that he does not believe the story that the Serpent Column spouted wine and milk, and he is similarly sceptical when he reports that a nearby bath had two doors, through one of which a woman accused of adultery would be led and, as she departed through the other, if she had sinned, 'her skirts raised themselves high without her noticing, so that from the middle down everything could be seen'.³⁸ This, once more, is a tale recorded far earlier, in the *Patria*, of quite another monument, a statue of Aphrodite on a column.³⁹

If the Serpent Column were such a fountain at the start of the fifteenth century, this would surely have been mentioned by Clavijo, a Spanish ambassador who visited the Hippodrome in 1403–6, and who unlike Tafur described very accurately the 'three copper figures of serpents. They are twisted like a rope, and they have three heads with open mouths'.⁴⁰ It is notable, moreover, that four Russian travellers who left detailed accounts of their trips to Constantinople between 1389 and 1421 fail to mention that it was or had ever been a fountain.⁴¹ It seems likely that Buondelmonti and Pero Tafur, in reporting on the festive gushing of various liquids, were recording a tradition that had attached to the Serpent Column far earlier. Their wondrous tale recalls an altogether different fountain in quite another time and place.

A remarkable fountain, spouting water, wine, mares' milk and mead, was observed at the court of Möngke Khan (1209–59) in spring 1254. It was described by the Franciscan William of Rubruck, who attributed it to the Parisian master goldsmith Guillaume Boucher.⁴²

In the entry of this great palace, it being unseemly to bring in there skins of milk and other drinks, master William the Parisian had made for him [the khan] a great silver tree, and at its roots are four lions of silver, each with a conduit through it, and all belching forth white milk of mares. And four conduits are led inside the tree to its tops, which are bent downward, and on each of these is also a gilded serpent, whose tail twines round the tree. And from one of these pipes flows wine, from another *cara cosmos*, or clarified mare's milk, from another *bal*, a drink made with honey, and from another rice mead, which is called *terracina*; and for each liquor there is a special silver bowl at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four conduits in the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and underneath the tree he made a vault in which a man can be hid. And pipes go up through the heart of the tree to the angel. In the first place he made bellows, but they did not give enough wind. Outside the palace is a cellar in which the liquors are stored, and there are

servants all ready to pour them out when they hear the angel trumpeting. And there are branches of silver on the tree, and leaves and fruit. When drink is wanted, the head butler cries to the angel to blow his trumpet. Then he who is concealed in the vault, hearing this blows with all his might in the pipe leading to the angel, and the angel places the trumpet to his mouth, and blows the trumpet right loudly. Then the servants who are in the cellar, hearing this, pour the different liquors into the proper conduits, and the conduits lead them down into the bowls prepared for that, and then the butlers draw it and carry it to the palace to the men and women.

Möngke Khan's magic fountain would have required only that the cellar of the palace be level with the top of the tree in the reception area so that liquids could be delivered by siphons to the spouts in the serpent's mouths high in the tree. Alternatively, since he resorted to placing a slave in a trench beneath the fountain to pump wind into the angel's trumpet, he may also have employed hand pumps to propel the liquids up the tree.

Guillaume Boucher had been captured at Belgrade in 1242 and taken to Karakorum, where he presided over a workshop of some fifty artisans.⁴³ His 'magic fountain' was unveiled at the Khan's spring reception, where ceremonial, including the *proskynesis*, is held to have been modelled on that of Constantinople.⁴⁴ In the very decade the Mongol fountain was created, Chinese writers were producing major mathematical treatises and books on hydraulics they acknowledged were based on knowledge from 'Fu-lin', i.e. Byzantium.⁴⁵ It is possible, therefore, that Boucher had seen similar hydraulic devices in Constantinople, and his fountain also echoed contemporary developments in France, such as the rudimentary automata in Villard de Honnecourt's sketchbook. Functioning mechanical marvels, as is well known, had been part of Byzantine ceremonial since the ninth century. Automata were developed in competition between Constantinople and Baghdad, when ideas flowed freely. A new audience chamber at Theophilos' Bryas Palace was decked out with automata to rival those at the court of the Abbasid caliph Mamun. At exactly this time, one finds described in the *Kitáb al-Hiyal*, or *Book of Ingenious Devices*, which drew upon several Greek works (Heron, Philon, Archimedes), a number of elaborate fountains which were able to flow alternately with water and wine. Mamun was surely the patron of the Banu Musa, the sons of Musa, authors of the *Kitáb al-Hiyal*. Mohammad, one of the sons of Musa, visited Constantinople before he and, principally, his brother Ahmad, composed the *Kitáb al-Hiyal*.⁴⁶

Therefore, it is possible that Boucher was inspired, directly or indirectly, by marvellous fountains in Constantinople. Still, this is not evidence that the Serpent Column was a 'magic fountain'. Perhaps the capacity to deliver

water, wine and milk on festival days was transferred to the Serpent Column from a different fountain in Constantinople, mechanical or otherwise. In the *Vita Basilii*, we are told that a bronze fountain stood in the middle of the Sigma, a semi-circular courtyard of the imperial palace, which for receptions spurted spiced wine.⁴⁷ Elsewhere in the *Vita Basilii* we read of another fountain that once supplied wine and water.⁴⁸ Manuscript illustrations of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, and especially from the twelfth century, suggest that there were several impressive serpentine fountains in Constantinople that inspired artists.⁴⁹ Athos Vatopedi 918, an illuminated gospel book from the end of the twelfth century, depicts in the head-piece of the gospel of Matthew (fol. 10r.) a fountain flanked by two peacocks. The finial of the fountain comprises two entwined serpents. The basin of the fountain is filled by four streams of water, each tumbling from the mouth of a serpent.⁵⁰ A very similar motif features twice in a manuscript of the twelfth century containing Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies (Paris, BN Cod. gr. 550, fols. 59v. and 166v.). Each marginal scene depicts a fountain with a quatrefoil basin and tank, not unlike the fountain in the Annunciation to St Anne at Daphni, but both sport a rather more elaborate finial.⁵¹ Likewise, there are serpentine fountains in the Vaticanus graecus 1162 and Parisinus BN graecus 1208, both richly illustrated manuscripts containing six homilies on the life of the Theotokos Mary by James, a monk of the Kokkinobaphos Monastery, produced in the 1130s–1150s.⁵² In the Vatican manuscript, in the lower register of folio 16v., the Annunciation to St Anne, four streams gush from the fountain: two from the serpents' mouths, two from the tank at its base (see plate 5). This reminds us of the four rivers of paradise, as does the tree depicted centrally with a pine-cone shaped hole, which also features in another illustration, fol. 35v., which features centrally the snake tempting Eve, coiled around the tree, rather like the entwined serpents of the fountain.⁵³

In another twelfth-century illuminated manuscript, the so-called Codex Ebnerianus (Bodleian MS Auct. T. infra I.10), an Annunciation to Mary is placed above the author portrait of St Luke, whose gospel (Luke 1: 24–39) is read on that feast. The scene places Mary not in a garden, but rather on a throne before a palace. Nevertheless, a fountain is depicted resting on an arch. It is a simple white basin, from which emerges a pine-cone finial and two snakes, their necks and heads confronted rather than entwined (fol. 178v.). This is evidently a conflation of two Annunciation scenes – that in Mary's home and that in the garden – in the same manner as one finds in a fresco at Perachorio, Cyprus (c.1160–80).⁵⁴ A very similar fountain, with two serpent heads looking at each other above a basin, is placed at the top

of a canon table in the Vani Gospels, which manuscript was produced in Constantinople toward the end of the twelfth century by the scribe Ioane, and was sent to Queen Tamar of Georgia.⁵⁵

A serpentine *strobilion* inspired an artist at Mistra, who in 1366 painted a fresco of St Gregory of Nazianzus in the south-east chapel of the Apheniko, comparing him to a fountain with a finial formed from four serpents projecting from a pine-cone dispensing water into a hexagonal basin, from which a stream emerged through a lion-head spout.⁵⁶ The projecting serpents evoke a model *strobilion* attributed to Philon of Byzantium.⁵⁷ There are also similarities with the only Byzantine *strobilion* currently known to have survived, at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos (fig. 6.4 and plate 6).⁵⁸

Two further illustrations depicting a serpentine fountain at the Annunciation to Mary have been identified in Cyprus and both have been dated to the thirteenth century. First, a marble tympanum excavated at



Fig 6.4. Bronze strobilion, detail of lower tier, Great Lavra, Mount Athos.
Photograph: Charalambos Bouras (with permission).

Larnaca, Cyprus, before 1882 and now held in London's Victoria and Albert Museum. Its central panel, dominating the upper and middle of three registers, depicts the Ascension, with Christ enthroned within a mandorla supported by the hands and feet of four angels. On the viewer's left, also occupying the upper two registers, is a crucifixion scene. On the viewer's right, balancing this, are two scenes: in the upper register, Christ is baptised in the Jordan; in the middle register, Gabriel appears to Mary, and between them is a column of twisted snakes (figs. 6.5, 6.6).

The Larnaca tympanum is currently held to be a product of the period 1210–30, entirely on stylistic grounds and largely by analogy with the very few sculptural representations of the Ascension from Tuscany (one each from Pisa, Arezzo and Florence).⁵⁹ Since there are very few such tympana from Tuscany, and none with scenes arranged in registers, one might wish to revisit the proposed date and discussion of stylistic influences. Paul Hetherington has suggested that the piece is a nineteenth-century pastiche, implicated in the various alleged frauds of General Cesnola, and that the serpentine fountain is derived from a second representation in a fresco also to be found on Cyprus, at Moutoullas in the Troodos Mountains. In a small church dedicated by its Latin founders to the Panagia, there is a cycle of wall paintings that is dated precisely by a donors' inscription to AD 1280.⁶⁰ The conch of the apse contains a bust of the Theotokos Blachernitissa



Fig 6.5. The Larnaca Tympanum, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Photograph: Paul Stephenson.



Fig 6.6. The Larnaca Tympanum, detail, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

flanked by Michael and Gabriel. On either side of the apse is painted the Annunciation: to the viewer's left, Gabriel, of which only a small part remains. And to the viewer's right, in better condition, is Mary and a fountain or well in the form of twisted serpents. Water falls from the mouths of both snakes into a tank. The border of the tank appears to be of panels or tiles, studded with pearls; and one sees water filling the tank (fig. 6.7).

The snake fountains depicted in scenes of the Annunciations both to Anne and to Mary allude to the serpent of Genesis, the tempter, by whom mankind was led into sin before that sin was redeemed through Christ. Paradise lost will be regained through the waters that flow from the fountain, in four streams, as they did in Eden. The snakes evoke the Fall even as they bear witness to the announcement by Gabriel that God will redeem mankind for that sin through his son, born to a woman.⁶¹ Any number of texts, from the fourth to thirteenth centuries might be cited in support of this proposition.⁶² However, as Henry Maguire has shown in this volume, while Byzantine artists might include actual fountains in depicting the Annunciation to Anne, such mundane items were avoided in depicting the Annunciation to Mary, who was herself the life-bearing source and fountain. The image at Moutoullas, we must therefore reiterate, is located in a church built for a Latin donor, and it should be regarded neither as



Fig 6.7. Entwined serpent fountain in a depiction of the Annunciation, Church of the Panagia, Moutoullas, Cyprus.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

representative of Byzantine iconography nor as a literal illustration of the Serpent Column in Constantinople. Rather, it might better be viewed as a representation of a story that had now attached to the column and was told frequently to and by travellers who had visited the Byzantine capital.

A final and remarkable illustration made far from Constantinople appears to show a tall serpentine fountain with two heads spouting water. A psalter produced in Canterbury around the year 1200, and completed in Catalonia more than a century later, is called variously the Paris Psalter (it is now Paris BN Lat. 8846), the Great Canterbury Psalter and the Anglo-Catalan Psalter.⁶³ It is the third and last copy of the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter, and drew also upon a slightly earlier twelfth-century psalter produced in Canterbury, known after its scribe as the Eadwine (Canterbury) Psalter.⁶⁴ The Utrecht Psalter, in illustrating Psalm 25 (26), employs a fountain to elucidate verse 6, 'I will wash my hands among the innocents and go around your altar, O Lord.' Water cascades in a single stream into a basin

from the mouth of a lion, which is shown sitting atop a column at the end of a row of arches, which appear to represent an aqueduct conveying a river from beyond a city. The Eadwine Psalter (Trinity College Cambridge, MS R. 17. 1, fol. 43v.; fig. 6.8), produced in Canterbury in c.1160, offers a faithful reproduction of both the design and details of the Utrecht Psalter's illustration, including both the aqueduct and fountain of a seated lion on a pillar.⁶⁵ The Paris or Great Canterbury Psalter, whose artist drew upon both Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters, echoes the composition closely, but with significant adaptations (fol. 43v.; fig. 6.9). There are now two older innocents, beardless youths dressed in flowing robes. Christ is austere and alone in his majesty, the Pantokrator in heaven delimited by the firmament.⁶⁶ The fountain discharges two streams, one into a basin before it and the second into a tank within the structure behind it. This is no longer an aqueduct supplying the fountain, but resembles a large cistern and has something like the shape of a hippodrome. The finial discharging the two streams is no longer a lion but has two heads, of dogs or dragons or serpents. Between them is a third, globular shape marking the top of a pole that juts from the top of an elaborate tower with four rows of two windows. One wonders what might have inspired the artist to draw such a fabulous fountain in Canterbury at the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth century, in a psalter that displays profound Byzantine influences.

Since the Great Canterbury Psalter was illustrated at Canterbury between 1180 and 1200, its Byzantinising artist may have seen illustrations of serpentine fountains by Constantinopolitan artists and adapted the fountain in his models to reflect this motif, just as he substituted the austere Pantokrator for Christ flanked by six angels. However, it is conceivable that the adaptation of the illustration for Psalm 25 (26) reflects a recent wonder still fresh in the telling. Emperor Manuel I Komnenos staged a grand banquet in Constantinople's hippodrome during Lent in 1180, to celebrate the betrothal of his son Alexios to Agnes of France, and also the recent marriage of his daughter Maria to Renier of Montferrat. Both Alexios and Agnes were children, too young to be offered wine, and in such circumstances might they have been offered water or milk?⁶⁷ One is obliged, therefore, still to wonder: could the 'magic fountain' have existed after all, briefly, for the edification of western visitors to Constantinople? Could this have been such a sight that it inspired Guillaume Boucher to offer something as wonderful for the Khan in Karakorum? Was the story still told centuries later in Constantinople, shorn of historical context? It is possible, but perhaps less likely than the alternative, that an artist in Canterbury kept the basic design and proportions of his models, a lion seated on a pillar,



Fig 6.9. Great Canterbury Psalter, Paris BN Lat. 8846, fol. 43v (with permission).

Conclusion

The Serpent Column certainly functioned for some time as a fountain, although we cannot determine when and for how long. A pipe was inserted through the marble base, channelling water from a subterranean conduit

into the column, and much, perhaps all of it, cascaded out into a tank beneath from a hole in the bronze at the very bottom of the column, passing along a groove carved into the marble channel. The bases supporting the Theodosian and Masonry Obelisk were similarly modified to allow water to project from their four sides into a tank. There is no material evidence that water reached the mouths of the serpents some 7 metres higher than the surface of the Hippodrome.

There were other fountains in Constantinople that featured entwined serpentine finials. One that we know of, which stood near the Nea Church, had a finial incorporating entwined snakes, which echoed the form of the Serpent Column. Artists illuminating manuscripts in twelfth-century Constantinople evidently were inspired by this and other fountains, illustrating a range of scenes with ornate serpentine fountains. Between 1180 and 1280, artists in England and Cyprus depicted serpentine fountains that appear to have been inspired by the Serpent Column, but are perhaps better understood as variants on the motifs shown in those same Constantinopolitan manuscripts and others we do not know.

When, in 1204, the majority of Constantinople's bronze statues were removed or destroyed by the forces of the Fourth Crusade, stories that had attached to them were transferred to the remaining monuments. Remarkably, the bronze Serpent Column was spared and it became known as a magical fountain that had formerly squirted three paradisiacal liquids: water, wine and milk. A goldsmith from Paris attempted to create a similar fountain for the Mongol khan, whose ceremonial mimicked that of the Byzantine court, making real what had hitherto, perhaps, only been imagined.

Notes

- 1 Newton 1865: II, 34: 'The entire mass of bronze appears to have been cast. Dr Dethier with the most minute examination could not detect any join in the metal; yet it is not likely that so great a length could have been cast in one piece.'
- 2 Kluge 1927: 3. Frazer 1898: 302, is among the earliest to suggest a single piece was cast. Hemingway 2004: 3–13, summarizes Greek techniques for casting, joining and finishing bronze sculpture from the fifth century BC.
- 3 Hemingway 2004: 6: 'While it is technically possible to cast an entire statue as a unit, there is no evidence that this was done in antiquity.'
- 4 Gauer 1968: 78.
- 5 Newton 1865: II, 27; Bourquelot 1865: 27.

- 6 Newton 1865: II, 34. For his judgment on the serpent head see Newton 1865: I, 44.
- 7 A note in *Revue archéologique* 13 (1856): 316. See Frick 1857–60: 490; Newton 1865: II, 36.
- 8 A lead post, that Frick 1857–60: 550 originally identified as a means to secure the column to its base, was shortly afterwards identified as the lead pipe, explored below.
- 9 Newton 1865: II, 27–9. As Newton proceeds to relate, he was rushing off to join a cruise, so did not find time to examine the base properly, and did not notice the inscription. His trip led him to his greatest discovery, the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, which he excavated in 1856–8. In Jan. 1856, Frick and Dethier examined the inscription at the base of the Serpent Column and found that it ‘contains exactly what the statements of Thucydides and Herodotus would lead us to expect: the names of those Greek states which took an active part in the defeat of the Persians’.
- 10 Newton 1865: II, 27, relates that as he began to excavate he noticed that around the Serpent Column ‘the soil had evidently been disturbed at no very distant period, and contained no ancient remains, except very small fragments of marble’.
- 11 Gerhard and Curtius 1856; Frick 1857–60: 550–1; Bourquelot 1865: 33–4. See also Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: appendix 1, 227 (*CIG* 8611), and 142: ‘Over 150 lead fistulae, many with stamps, survive from ancient Rome, evidence for the widespread distribution and supply from public reservoirs to private households and baths. By contrast, only one stamped fistula is known at Constantinople – intended to supply a water fountain close to or inside the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome’.
- 12 Casson 1928: 9; Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010: 32–50. The discovery may have been made two decades earlier, in May 1834, when the famous Kugelspiel was discovered during digging at the edge of the Hippodrome. It was published by Texier 1845, who mistook it for a fountain, due to the survival of pipes within it. Bourquelot 1865: 33, appears to suggest that it was found ‘with the remains of pipes (avec les restes de tuyaux)’, but this is his own interpretation of Texier’s explanation (p. 146) that the interior of the block had traces of pipes.
- 13 Frick 1857–60: 550.
- 14 Casson 1928, 1929. Subsequent Hippodrome excavations by Rustem Duyuran in 1950–1 did not approach the Serpent Column. Some excellent photos from this later dig are published in Pitarakis 2010: I, 348–57.
- 15 Casson 1928: 25–6. These had nothing to do with the seven water basins identified in the Hippodrome in the tenth century, on which see Mango 1949.
- 16 Casson 1928: 12–13. Curtius had already hinted at this in reporting the findings by Lord Napier’s dig (Gerhard and Curtius 1856: 287).
- 17 See the introduction to this volume.
- 18 Newton 1865: I, 44.

- 19 Ridgway 1977: 377, suggested that a separate pipe was once soldered onto the upper jaw of each snake-head. However, she did not examine the extant jaw. See also Gauer 1968: 79–80.
- 20 Newton 1865: II, 35. See also Gerda de Kleijn's paper in this volume. I am grateful to Gerda de Kleijn for a full discussion of this pipe, and for her correcting an error in my interpretation of it.
- 21 Gerhard and Curtius 1856: 286–7.
- 22 Gerhard and Curtius 1856: 286; Frick 1856: 221–2; Frick 1857–60: 550; *CIG* 8611.
- 23 *PLRE* II, xxxix (Proclus); cf. I, 749 (Proculus).
- 24 Kirchhoff (= *CIG* 8611), cited by Frick 1857–60: 551; Dethier and Mordtmann 1864: 20–8; Newton 1865: II, 35.
- 25 Frick 1856: 223–4; Frick 1857–60: 551.
- 26 *PLRE* II, 949: 1255.
- 27 *PLRE* II, 943–8. Frick 1856: 223–4, preferred the name Romanos, and drew attention to a certain Romanos who was *magister equituum* under Valens, which supported his preferred date for the pipe.
- 28 See Stephenson and Hedlund in this volume.
- 29 See Oikonomides 1986: 26, 28, 30–1, 35, 37, for firmly dated examples, all from the seventh century.
- 30 DOS 1, 23, 194; DOS 2, 167, 170–1; DOS 3, 41–2, 76, 105, 149–50; DOS 4, 164–5. These general dates are not altered by examples among the seals sold at auction 1991–2001, listed in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 6 and 8. Notable examples from Constantinople are published at DOS 5, 52–3, where 23.10 is the seal of 'Kosmas *apo hypaton* and general *kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke* of Constantinople', dated to 685–95; 23.8 is the seal of John, also an *apo hypaton* in 692/3; 23.6 is the seal of 'George *apo hypaton*. *Apotheke* of Constantinople [and] ...'. A number of George's seals are among those listed in other volumes and at Oikonomides 1986: 37. See also DOS 5, 45–8, no. 22.1–8, for seals of those who held the office 'eparch of the city', most from the ninth and tenth centuries, and at the rank of *protospatharios*. The earliest seal, 22.5, sixth or seventh century, of one Markellos has no rank; one of the eighth century, Sergios, is *hypatos* and *spatharios*.
- 31 DOS 4, 33, no. 11.20. Stephen is in charge of provisioning the army in the province of Paphlagonia, and to that end has control of trade and the imperial entrepôts and storehouses. However, see Laurent 1962: 85–7.
- 32 Dodd 1968: being ewers A and B. Brooke Shilling provided this reference.
- 33 *ODB*, s.v. *Hypatos*, provides a useful summary of the changing status of the title, office and rank. The equivalent rank in 899 would have been *anthypatos*, proconsul.
- 34 Buondelmonti, ed. Gerola 1931: 274; Majeska 1984: 255–6.
- 35 Pero Tafur, tr. Letts 1926: 143. See also Majeska 1984: 256–7; and Lett's comment on p. 11, that 'even the Serpent Column failed to move' Pero Tafur, 'possibly because he did not know its history.' It was only later that the third snake-head

- may have been damaged. An early Ottoman report, by Kemal Peshazade in c.1512, states simply that the lower jaw of one serpent had fallen off. Later legends attributed this to a show of strength by Mehmet the Conqueror, as reported and illustrated in a miniature contained in the *Hünernâme*, completed in c.1584, and also shown in the second volume of c.1588; or to an act of vandalism by the Sultan Selim II 'the Sot' (r. 1566–74). For the Ottoman accounts, see Frick 1857–60: 519–20; Casson 1929: 1–4; Ménage 1964: 169–70.
- 36 Janin 1964: 104. Tafur also misidentifies the equestrian statue of Justinian, which he sees upon leaving Hagia Sophia, as Constantine; and reports that the Theodosian Obelisk 'is neither fine nor ancient', and was made for the body of Constantine.
- 37 Grémois 2010: 228–9.
- 38 Pero Tafur, tr. Letts 1926; quoted by Grémois 2010: 229.
- 39 Grémois 2010: 229.
- 40 Clavijo, tr. Markham 1859: 35.
- 41 Otherwise, their information is quite consistent. Notably, three reported that serpent venom is enclosed in the column. Majeska 1984: 92–3 (Ignatius of Smolensk, who visited Constantinople in 1389), 144–5 (Anonymous, c.1390–1400, fails to mention the venom), 164–5 (Alexander the Clerk, visited c.1394–5), 184–5 (Zosima, visited in 1420 and 1421), 250–1. This is also reported in 1403–6, by the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, and again in Turkish in c.1512 by Kemal Peshazade. The venom in the column served to protect the city against infestation by snakes, and ensured that those bitten by snakes – by some accounts only those bitten within the confines of the city – would be cured by touching the column. For still further talismanic interpretations, see Flood 2006.
- 42 William of Rubruck, tr. Rockhill 1900.
- 43 Olschki 1946: 45–6.
- 44 Eight years earlier, John of Plano Carpini had attended a reception in the golden tent of Kuyuk Khan, where he observed the gilded ebony throne manufactured by a Ruthenian goldsmith called Cosmas, which Olschki 1946: 17–22, considered 'a monument of Byzantine style'.
- 45 S. Kaplan, in a review of Olschki 1946, in *Speculum* 23/2 (1948): 326–8 at 328.
- 46 The mood is well captured by Magdalino 1998, which addresses four learned Byzantines known to have made journey to caliphal capitals in the ninth century, and a fifth (Leo Choirosphaktes) who was invited to visit al-Mamun, but declined. The intellectual competition between the two worlds and courts is reimagined in the tenth century, by *Theophanes Continuatus*, whose accounts are compared to other sources, and frequently found to have emphasised Byzantine achievement and superiority in the face of evidence to the contrary. Magdalino detects two competing traditions in Byzantine thought: one represented by John the Grammarian and Leo, who were iconoclasts to varying degrees, and had embraced mathematical sciences and astronomy (hence also astrology), as opposed to Photios, whose line was staunchly orthodox, representing the later

ninth-century views that came to prevail through the tenth century, rejecting mathematical knowledge and new knowledge, for example that gleaned by the Arab astronomers, for that of the Greco-Roman past, notably its literature. What may have been novel is shown to be ancient. Byzantium under Theophilos was iconoclast and scientific, in emulation of and competition with Mamun's caliphate, and the places where ambassadors would be impressed were to be full of scientific wonders, mechanical thrones, noisy automata, banquets with table fountains, etc. See also Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: 128–32.

- 47 Maguire and Maguire 2007: 45–6, citing the *De cerimoniis* and *Theophanes* (meaning *Theophanes Continuatus*), on the reign of Theophilos. This passage is translated by Mango 1972: 162. The description of the waterworks continues, 'Next to the fountain [which we have just considered] are set up steps of white Proconnesian marble ... also, next to the long side of the Sigma have been erected two bronze lions with gaping mouths. These spouted water and flooded the entire hollow area of the Sigma ...'
- 48 *Vita Basilii* 85; tr. Mango 1972: 194–5; ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 276–9.
- 49 Yet another fountain sporting a carved serpent is described by Manuel Philes, which was formerly but incorrectly understood to describe the finial of the Lavra fountain, on which see L. Bouras 1976. On Philes, see now and correctly Pietsch 2010: 108–9, no. 48:

A Fountain in the Martyrium with the Cenotaph of Sts Florus and Laurus.
 A soulful serpent and an artful lion
 Nature finds formed freely from stone
 For if not yoked by the stiffness of stone
 One would have seen the snakes before now slither
 Supposing them alive and desiring to stir
 But scared to death and in rigor mortis
 Perhaps from fear of slipping
 For the bold lions standing below
 Have gaping mouths hurrying to feed.

- 50 Galavaris 1979: 118, and fig. 89, as cited by Stichel 1997: 324.
- 51 See Galavaris 1969: XC, fig. 412; XCIII, fig. 423.
- 52 J. Anderson 1991. The text of the homilies is at PG 127, cols. 543–700.
- 53 It has been suggested, by Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964: I, 196–201, that an illustrated version of the *Protevangelion of James* supplied the models for the depictions of the early life of the Virgin, including both Annunciations in gardens, in the Kokkinobaphos homilies. However, we cannot know if a serpent fountain existed in this posited prototype, and it seems less likely than that it was the invention of the twelfth-century Master. See also J. Anderson 1991: 77.
- 54 H. Maguire 1981: 47, figs. 31 and 32. Maguire writes of the lion-head fountain, similar to that found in the Annunciation at the Kariye Camii, in the Komnenian

Annunciation to Mary at Perachorio. Lion-headed fountains with three stone basins also feature in frescoes at the Bogorodica Peribleptos, Ohrid; the Church of the Annunciation at Gradac; and (the earliest of this sequence), at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike. There is no fountain in the Annunciation to Anne in the fourteenth-century fresco in the Church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, although Anne kneels in a garden on a rocky foreground before three trees. On this see Gerasimou et al. 2005: fig. 73.

- 55 Jeffrey Anderson has argued that the same workshop in twelfth-century Constantinople was responsible for the Codex Ebnerianus, the two versions of Kokkinobaphos' homilies and the Seraglio Octateuch (and therefore, presumably, also influenced the scribe Ioane). In Anderson's judgement, the Kokkinobaphos Master had several lesser artists working under him. See J. Anderson 1982, 1991.
- 56 L. Bouras 1977: 65, illustrated at Millet 1910: pl. 109.
- 57 L. Bouras 1976: 91, ill. B.
- 58 L. Bouras 1976.
- 59 Willis 1981. Willis, an expert in Indian art, was at the time of writing curator of the early South Asian and Himalayan collections at the British Museum. See now Hetherington 2000, which regards the piece as a nineteenth-century pastiche.
- 60 Mouriki 1984.
- 61 As well as the snakes, one might also look to the trees: *Apocalypse of Paul*, tr. A. Walker 1870: 489–99: 'he led me near the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And he says to me: "This is the tree by which death came into the world, and Adam took the fruit of it from his wife, and ate; and thereafter they were cast out". And he showed me another, the tree of life, and said to me, "This the cherubim and the flaming sword guard". And when I was closely observing the tree and wondering, I saw a woman coming from far off, and a multitude of angels singing praises to her ... This is the holy Mary, the Mother of the Lord.'
- 62 In the fourth century Ephrem the Syrian wrote, 'Our Lord has caused them to find the tunic of Adam again. While the Church purifies its ears of this serpent's words, which [men] heard, and which sullied them ...' Ephrem also wrote of fountains of milk. In the words of Anastasios of Antioch, writing in the sixth century a homily on the Annunciation: 'Therefore on this day, *Gabriel was sent out*, proclaiming to the Virgin the uncorrupt birth, and declaring to her the impending salvation of the nations through her: at the same time as the greeting, *The word became flesh*, forming anew the figure, which sin spoiled, having entered along with the words of the evil snake. For it was necessary, *it was necessary* that flesh be corrupted by the hissing of the snake to return to incorruption by means of the greeting of the angel: and just as death was effected through a woman, so it was necessary that salvation be dispensed through a woman.' See Anastasius of Antioch, *Sermon 2*, PG 89, 1376–1385: Εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς παναχράντου καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίας (On the Annunciation

of the all-immaculate and God-bearing Mary). This was drawn to my attention by Brooke Shilling, who supplied me with her fine translation. See here also H. Maguire 1987a: 368–72 on Adam and the animals, including serpents, which in his former state of grace could not harm Adam, and which are neutralized again through Christ. Compare this with the following lines in a *kanon*, a hymn celebrating St Marina, the martyr who was celebrated for having pierced the belly of a dragon with the sign of the cross: ‘You warded off the multi-formed serpent in female form, and the fall of Eve you restored, most worthy one.’ See Ἡλεγγας τὸν πολύμορφον ὄφιν ἐν γυναικείᾳ μορφῇ καὶ τῆς Εὕας τὴν πτώσιν ἀνώρθωσας, ἀξιόγαστε in Shirò 1966–83: XI, 307 (this line), 310 (refers to dragon); as cited in M. White 2008: 161. This *kanon* to Marina is found only in one eleventh-century (Mess. gr. 139) and one twelfth-century manuscript (Sinait. gr. 627). The three-headed dragon demon in the *Testament of Solomon* is called Korouphe, the ‘Crest of dragons’ (as opposed to Tribolos, the triple spike or caltrop, or the *pterodrakon*, the winged dragon), and it is clearly a corruption of this when, in the life of Marina (Margaret) we meet Rouphos (Rufus), who is commanded by Beelzebub, who also appears as the arch demon in the *Testament*. See also dragons holding a cross in a marginal illumination, Walter 1997: 201, Paris gr. 375 (d. 1021).

- 63 For a description of the manuscript, see: www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.P.Lat.8846.htm. The illustrations are reproduced at Omont 1906, in this case as pl. 34. See also Sandler 2000: 71 and fig. 8. Eunice Dauterman Maguire drew this to my attention and offered her own interesting commentary.
- 64 Stirnemann 1992: 188: ‘It seems reasonable to suppose that the artist of *Paris* [i.e. the Great Canterbury/Anglo-Catalan Psalter], who was one of the leading Byzantinizing artists of the day, would have wanted to compare two of the older manuscripts (*Utrecht* and *Eadwine*) at Canterbury ... *Paris* would then be a visual conflation of both sources, more closely dependent upon *Eadwine* at the beginning and later drawing upon *Utrecht*.’ The judgement is deliberately contrary to that of Heimann 1975, which posited a lost intermediary between *Eadwine* and *Paris*.
- 65 The *Eadwine Psalter* employs colour in the illustration, and misinterprets some details, for example not showing any water flowing from the source across the aqueduct. The first copy of the *Utrecht Psalter*, BL MS Harley 603, eleventh century, also offers a faithful reproduction of the illustration at fol. 14v. The lion fountain stands on its column at the end of the aqueduct, and nine innocents wash in the basin and its overflowing stream. This also fails to show water flowing across the aqueduct.
- 66 As was observed by Tselos 1959, 145, the form and frequent presence of the Pantokrator is but one, very clear indication of strong Byzantine influence on the illustration of this psalter, which distinguishes it clearly from the *Utrecht Psalter*.

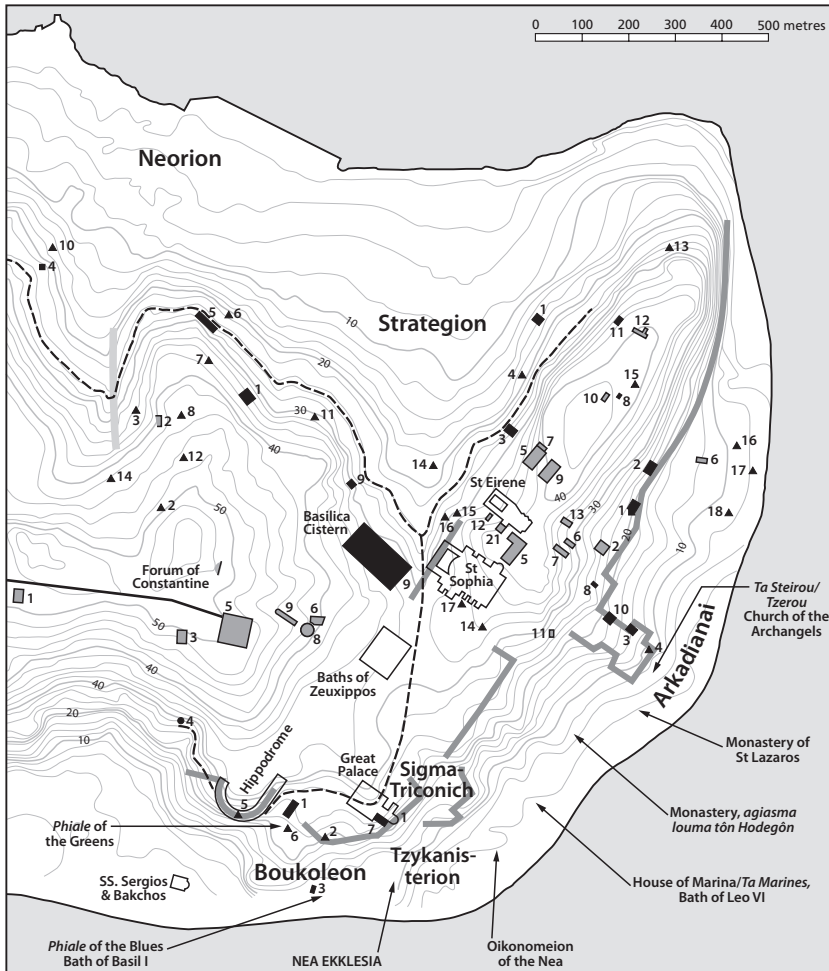
- 67 A panegyric by Eustathios of Thessalonike preserves a description of the occasion: Eustathios, ed. Wirth 2000: 170–81, at 174–6. See also Magdalino 1993: 100–1, 456, writing before Wirth's edition, and hence referring to the Escorial manuscript in which the work is preserved. Stone 2001: 249, 250, suggests the date of Lent 1180. Maguire and Maguire 2007: 29–57, esp. 53–4, discuss the spectacle of dining and imperial display, including a reference to Manuel's feast.

7 | The culture of water in the ‘Macedonian renaissance’

PAUL MAGDALINO

The focal point of this chapter is a small cluster of ornamental fountains with basins (φιάλαι) installed by the emperor Basil I (867–86) to the east of the imperial Great Palace (map 2). My area of focus, however, will be the culture of water to which these installations belonged. The cultural significance of Byzantine *phialai* is best understood in the context of other recreational and ornamental waterworks that were constructed around the same time, often in close proximity. These constructions included fishponds, *nymphaea* and, above all, baths. The bath was in more than one sense the indoor equivalent of the courtyard or garden with a fountain at its centre. Both were the ultimate places of relaxation and enjoyment. Both could have ritual as well as aesthetic functions. Both could in theory exist as self-contained units, yet in the medieval period, we usually encounter the one and the other as annexes to church and palace buildings, as liminal, accessory spaces to the sacred spaces and the power spaces where God and the ruler were adored. Both differed from those primary cult spaces in that their point of focus was not an apse framing an epiphany of light, but a central artifice that provided for flowing and still water.

Since the waterworks of the ‘Macedonian renaissance’, and indeed of Byzantium as a whole, have largely disappeared, they have to be approached through their mentions and descriptions in literature. The culture of water had a literary dimension because water was as integral as literary *paideia* to the cultural tradition that Byzantium inherited from the ancient *polis*. It was an essential ingredient in the beauty of the urban environment, the *kallos*, which, as Helen Saradi has shown, was the distinguishing quality of the city as conceptualised in the rhetoric of late antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages.¹ The rhetorical pieces that praise Constantinople in the manner of the Second Sophistic do not fail to extol its water supply and its waterworks. Nicholas Mesarites, in his ekphrasis of the Church of the Holy Apostles, says, ‘one can see in it and in the regions surrounding it inexhaustible treasures of water and reservoirs of sweet waters made equal to seas, from which as though from four heads of rivers, the whole City of Constantine receives its supply’; in a sentence borrowed from Libanios, he



Map 2. Location of ninth- to tenth-century waterworks in region I of Constantinople, adapted by Paul Magdalino from Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008.

also extols the winter and summer baths attached to the church.² About seventy years later, following the period of Latin rule in Constantinople and the expulsion of the Latin regime by Michael VIII Palaiologos, Manuel Holobolos praised Michael's achievement in restoring the city to its former beauty. Among the fine features that graced Constantinople before 1204, Holobolos lists 'an abundance of baths; water courses, some deep, others elevated, the former roofed, the latter open to the air'.³ The longest rhetorical piece of praise for Constantinople, the *Byzantios* of Theodore Metochites, written in 1311, goes into greater detail, although without naming any specific structure.

[There are] reservoirs, fountains, and all kinds of great cisterns all over the city, sources of pleasant and abundant water. This comes from everywhere, both from local springs, and from afar, brought to the city by no little constraining and forcing of nature. Unavoidable necessity compels it to serve the imperial city, by all kinds of means and contrivances, some hidden, but others most obvious, which we can see and admire, as they parade the lofty flow of aerial rivers throughout the city. [There is] also the enjoyment of numerous big and beautiful baths, containing all kinds of ingenious devices, which I cannot describe, but can only urge you to experience and see them for yourselves.⁴

By his use of the present tense, Metochites gives the impression – perhaps illusory – that the waterworks he describes were still functioning,⁵ but one hundred years later, in 1411, Manuel Chrysoloras, in his *Comparison of Old and New Rome*, makes it fairly clear that they were mostly things of the past: the aqueducts, though visible, no longer delivered water to the big open-air cisterns, which had been turned into market gardens. He is ambiguous on the subject of the covered cisterns, which made the city hollow underneath, and the sewers, which were a common feature in Rome and Constantinople. But as for the baths of Constantinople, ‘the multitude recorded by history surpasses belief’, and the same is implied of ‘the water from fountains, which used to flow in homes and throughout the city.’⁶

The abundance of baths and fountains in medieval Constantinople was thus closely associated, in the minds of its writers as in reality, with the maintenance of the long-distance water supply. The redundancy of the one implied the redundancy of the other, and the redundancy of both, which seems to have happened, at the latest, between Metochites and Chrysoloras, was a manifest symptom of the urban decline that was noted by other observers of Constantinople in the early fifteenth century. Significantly, the last period of sustained decline in the imperial capital, the stagnation and depopulation of the seventh and eighth centuries, was also the period when the long-distance aqueduct had last been out of action. After the Avars cut the aqueduct in 626, almost no building activity is recorded in the city for 140 years. The restoration of the aqueduct by Constantine V in 766–7, at considerable effort and expense,⁷ was the first in a stream of constructions and reconstructions that continued without a break until 1204, and then resumed under the Palaiologoi until the middle of the fourteenth century.⁸

It would not be far-fetched to describe the eighth-century restoration of the long-distance water supply as the foundation of the building projects of the Byzantine ‘renaissance’ of the ninth and tenth centuries. The full extent of this building activity is not known, nor is the extent to which it involved the revival and reuse of structures dating from the fourth to sixth

centuries. While there are good indications that the monumental *thermae* of late antiquity were not maintained or reopened in their original condition, it is possible that, in some cases, the basic 'plant' was reconditioned for a different type of bathing culture.⁹ In general, two assumptions seem reasonable: first, that the ninth- and tenth-century builders made use of existing infrastructure; secondly, that all the important new foundations of the period incorporated facilities for the large-scale, conspicuous consumption of water, even where this is not specified, as, for example, in the palace and hospital of the empress Eirene,¹⁰ the Stoudios monastery,¹¹ and the *xenon* of Theophilos.¹² In other words, the waterworks that are attested in the sources were only the tip of the iceberg.

The earliest attestations after the reconstruction of the aqueduct pertain to the reign of Theophilos (829–42). According to a notice in the *Patria*, 'the so-called great bath near the [Forum of the] Ox was built by Niketas, the eunuch and former ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης in the time of the emperor Theophilos'.¹³ This is interesting as being the only bath-house in medieval Constantinople that is not named in association with a palace or a religious foundation. It was thus, apparently, a free-standing bathing establishment in the ancient manner, and the fact that it was notable for its size might indicate that it was a refurbishment of an ancient public bath. Unfortunately, it is not known from any other source, and the *Patria* is not the most reliable of witnesses. A bath in this area is likely to have been supplied, probably via the cistern of Mokios, from the aqueduct in the south-west of the city mentioned in a processional itinerary of the *De cerimoniis*.¹⁴

The other waterwork associated with the reign of Theophilos is the Mystic Fountain of the Triconch¹⁵ – in fact, a system of three fountains and a basin contained within the Sigma portico that the emperor erected as part of his main complex of additions to the imperial palace (see map 2). The complex is described by *Theophanes Continuatus* in his detailed description of Theophilos' buildings.¹⁶ At the centre of the Sigma courtyard stood a gilded pine-cone fountain in a bronze basin with a silver-lined rim. On the long side of the Sigma, presumably at either end of the portico, were two bronze water-spouts in the form of lions, which gushed with water that filled 'the entire hollow space of the Sigma'. This evidently occupied part, but not all of the Sigma courtyard, because the *phiale* at the centre had to be accessible to the participants in the ceremonies that were held in the complex. *Theophanes Continuatus* says that when the Mystic Fountain of the Triconch was used for the ceremonial receptions known as *dexima*, in which the popular factions 'received' the emperor with dances, acclamations and petitions, the pine-cone fountain flowed with spiced wine and the

basin was filled with pistachios, almonds and pine-nuts, for the refreshment of the dancers and musicians. The Mystic Fountain of the Triconch is in fact most often mentioned in connection with the *deximon* or *saximodeximon* ('dance reception'),¹⁷ so it seems likely that Theophilos intentionally built (or rebuilt) the Sigma and Triconch complex as an alternative stage for this ceremony, which previously had been confined to the fountain courtyards of the Blues and the Greens (of which more later). In the tenth century, and probably earlier, the Sigma courtyard also served as the venue for the dances performed by the senate in celebration of the imperial Brumalia. The circus factions apparently did not take part in this event.¹⁸

The waterworks recorded for the reign of Theophilos' son and successor Michael III (842–67) were of a different kind. One late manuscript of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* contains, for 31 August, a long notice telling the story of a ritual bath (*louma*) where healing miracles of the Virgin had taken place.¹⁹ The establishment had been founded by a certain *patrikios* Antonios, on the property of his fine house that he owned in the courtyard of the Arsenal of the Neorion. Attached to the house was a church of the Theotokos, which had been deprived of its iconic decoration by the former iconoclast emperors. When restoring and redecorating the church, Antonios added, underneath, a small bath (*loutron*) for his own 'consolation'. As God was praised and glorified in the church above, the bath below was visited by the grace of the Holy Spirit, thanks to the mediation of the Theotokos, and healing miracles began to occur. As the news of them spread, some God-loving men got together and asked the *patrikios* to organise a ritual bathing (*louma*) once a week for the sake of the 'brothers in Christ'. They formed an association under his leadership, and on his death-bed, he left them the bath together with its annexes and the church. However, they were people of low means, without the support of influential sponsors, 'not having sufficient water or any income whatsoever', so they lost heart. When they passed away, the bath was completely abandoned and robbed of its fittings, although the church, being on a higher level, managed to survive. The emperor Romanos I (920–44) contemplated demolishing the structure for its building material, until the Virgin appeared in a dream to one of his officials, instructing him to restore it instead. This he did, making the bath bigger than before, with the addition of a pool. He bathed in it with his co-emperors, provided the establishment with annual revenues, and put it in the care of the monastery founded by the official who had communicated the message from the Theotokos.

This narrative is the only existing account of the creation of a Byzantine ritual bath (*louma/lousma*) and the pious confraternity (*diakonia*, also

louma/lousma) by which it was served. Since the account is unique, we cannot tell whether it is typical or eccentric, particularly in its emphasis on the miraculous. But its conception of the dynamics of patronage and sanctification is fully consistent with the hagiographical mentality, so we may conclude that it is not untypical of the religious aspect of the culture of water in ninth-century Byzantium, and that it reflects certain commonly held assumptions: (a) that churches were sanctified by the restoration of icons, (b) that water was sanctified by the presence of a church, (c) that sanctified water had the properties of a natural sacred spring, and (d) that imperial or aristocratic patronage was essential to the existence of a sanctified water facility.

These assumptions underlay another, more famous religious institution, that was also restored in the ninth century, and which eventually combined a sacred spring, a famous icon, a popular church in a revered monastery, imperial patronage and a ritual bath. This was the monastery of the Theotokos *ton Hodegon*, which according to the *Patria* was built by Michael III, 'having formerly been an oratory where many blind people gained their sight and many miracles occurred'.²⁰ The spring of the monastery predated the reign of Michael III, the icon of the Hodegetria does not appear until the eleventh century and the *louma* is not mentioned until the twelfth. Nevertheless, it is difficult to think of a more appropriate moment for their creation than the time of Michael III, which saw the Triumph of Orthodoxy and the determination of a group of humble, pious laymen to turn a simple private bath into a miraculous, healing *louma*.

The culture of ritual bathing certainly did not pass by Basil I, the emperor who assassinated and succeeded Michael III in 867. When he rebuilt the Church of the Archangels at *ta Steirou/Tzerou*, in very close proximity to the monastery *ton Hodegon*, he also restored the *louma* attached to the church.²¹ At the same time, he showed a taste for ornamental *phialai* of the kind that Theophilos had set up in the Sigma courtyard of the Palace. Two notices of the *Patria* refer to a bronze *phiale*, also known as 'the basin (λεκάνη) of Trikakabos', that Basil I removed to the atrium of the Church of the Archangels from the Strategion, the agora of ancient Byzantion, where it had formed part of a monumental ensemble.²² We shall return to this object shortly. For now, it is important to note that the information is part, possibly the first instance, of a pattern of references to Basil I moving ancient sculptures and spolia, mainly from public places in the city, to decorate his own constructions, mainly in the imperial palace. According to the *Patria*, 'the bronze gates that stand at the Trikymbalon of the Tzykanisterion were taken by Basil I from the porticoes of the Forum. They were set up by Constantine

the Great opposite the Senate House, but Basil I removed them when he built the Nea Ekklesia.²³ The chronicle of Symeon the Logothete mentions other sculptures that Basil removed but did not put on display, either melting them down for their bronze, or, in the case of one statue from the Royal Stoa, burying it as a talisman in the foundations of the church.²⁴ However, there were two ancient works of art that he did exhibit prominently in the atrium of the Nea Ekklesia. The description of the church in the *Vita Basilii* devotes considerable space to the two exquisitely ornamented *phialai* that stood outside the building to the west.²⁵

Toward the west and in the very atrium of the church there stand two fountain-basins, one to the south and one to the north; absolute is the perfection of their art, splendid the quality of their material, and they bear [witness to] the munificence of their maker. The southern basin is carved out of Egyptian [porphyry] stone which we customarily call 'Roman'. Around it one can see serpents most exquisitely shaped by the stonecutter's art. In the middle of the basin stands a perforated pinecone-shaped device, small white columns, hollowed inside, stand around it, forming a dancing group. On top, they carry an entablature; gushing streams of water escape from above out of all these [elements] and rain down upon the surface and the bottom of the basin below. The northern basin has been fashioned from a stone called Sagarios, which resembles the stone that some call Ostrites; in the centre of the base it, too, displays a jutting pinecone device pierced in many places and made of white stone. Above along the entablature that runs around the basin, the artist has fashioned roosters, goats, and rams out of bronze; these too emit streams of water through pipes, vomiting them forth, as it were, towards the basin's base. There, one can also see cups near which in former days wine used to spout up from below, providing drink and welcome to passers-by.

The author says nothing about the origin of these *phialai*, but it is likely that they were carved well before the ninth century. The fact that there were, unusually, two of them provides a clue to their provenance. As Rodolphe Guiland pointed out, the description of the *phialai* should be connected with another passage of the *Vita Basilii*, which states that Basil removed the fountains of the Blues and the Greens from their respective courtyards, and abolished the ceremonies formerly held in these locations.²⁶ In other words, Basil terminated the function of the fountain-courtyards as venues for the performance of the *deximon*, the ceremony in which each of the main circus factions acclaimed and petitioned the emperor. The performance of the ceremony in the fountain courtyards, as described in the *De cerimoniis*,²⁷ went back at least to the reign of Justinian II, who as we know from *Theophanes* created the courtyard of the Blues.²⁸ The fountains themselves thus dated

from the seventh century at the latest, but it seems unlikely, given their style, that this was the beginning of their history.

This is not the place to discuss the fate of the fountain courtyards and the question of whether Basil entirely abolished the *deximon* of the factions or transferred it to the Sigma portico of the Triconch, which, as we have seen, had served as an alternative, winter venue from the time of Theophilos. It is relevant to point out, however, that in the case of the Fountain of the Blues, the emperor replaced one set of waterworks with another, for it was on the terrace overlooking this courtyard that he built 'the most beautiful, spacious and well-lit palace bath ... both a work of sumptuous beauty and a <source> of bodily well-being and comfort'.²⁹ It is also significant that he changed the context of the Blue and Green fountains from that of a profane space associated with the 'diabolic' Hippodrome fans to the sacred space of a church, thus sacralising their secular symbolism and iconography.³⁰ This paralleled the transfer of the bronze *phiale* from the Strategion to the Church of the Archangels at *ta Steirou*, to which we may now return. The *Patria* describes this object in its original context as follows:

In the [same] Strategion there stood the Tripod having [indications of] past, present and future events; the [representation of] the South Pole, and the bowl (λεκάνη) of Triakkabos that was [later] placed at *ta Steirou*. For it served as a place of divination. Nearby was the Tyche of the City. The Caesar Bardas, uncle of the emperor Michael, displaced, disposed of, and destroyed these things.³¹

One manuscript specifies that the 'bowl of Triakkabos' was taken to *ta Steirou* to serve as a *phiale*, and another entry in the *Patria* attributes its removal to Basil I, which is surely correct, given the evidence of the *Vita Basilii* that Basil rebuilt the church.³² Who or what was Triakkabos? Since a *κακκάβη* or *κάκκαβος* was a three-legged pot, the obvious inference is that the word designates the bowl that rested on the tripod that had just been mentioned. But the use of the alternative word is odd, and so is the separate listing of the tripod and the bowl. The expression 'bowl of [the] Triakkabos' makes better sense if it is taken as referring to a person with whom the basin was associated. Triakkabos was the nickname given to one of the most notorious and reviled iconoclast churchmen of the eighth century, Basil bishop of Antioch in Pisidia.³³ The association of his derogatory nickname with a place of divination, a *manteion*, strongly suggests that the *λεκάνη τοῦ Τρικακκάβου* was the *lekane* that Basil Triakkabos was said to have used for *lekanomanteia*: divining in a bowl of water. In this case, the nickname could derive from Basil's reputation for speaking 'as from a tripod', a common Byzantine expression of mockery for someone

with prophetic pretensions.³⁴ Two things make this plausible: first, the rare Byzantine illustrations of *lekanomanteia*, in the ninth-century Paris Gregory and the fourteenth-century Venice *Alexander Romance*, depict something like a *phiale*,³⁵ secondly, John the Grammarian, the ideologist of the second iconoclasm and the last iconoclast patriarch of Constantinople, was notorious, at least among iconophiles, as a *lekanomantes*.³⁶ The witnesses, though hostile, are too numerous, and too close to John's lifetime, to be easily dismissed. Moreover, John the Grammarian also acquired the reputation of using statues for occult purposes, as we know from the story in *Theophanes Continuatus* of his personal decapitation of a three-headed statue in the Hippodrome in order to avert a barbarian invasion during the reign of Theophilos.³⁷ If he, following Trikakabos, used the *phiale* at the Strategion for basin-divining, this would explain why the iconophile rulers who succeeded Theophilos were so keen to break up this locus of the occult. What seems likely, at least, is that by the time Basil I transferred the *phiale* to the Church of the Archangels, it had sinister associations of which he was well aware.

Like Constantine the Great's importation of antique statuary to his newly founded capital city, the transfer of ornamental fountains and other antiquities to the new foundations of Basil I may have been intended to recontextualise them, to defuse them of their profane and pagan charge. Equally, the tangible result was to beautify the new foundation at the expense of the original context. The Nea Ekklesia was not just a church building and an isolated dynastic monument; it was the independently endowed nucleus of a new dynastic complex that bridged the Palace and the city, forming in effect a new 'Macedonian' neighbourhood.³⁸ This comprised, in addition to the church and its atrium, a large garden flanked by two long porticoes, the new Tzykanisterion or imperial polo ground, decorated with bronze sculptures, and on the other side of this a series of fine buildings, which included the church's administrative and financial office or Oikonomeion. For a time the Nea also had a school. We know about it because its teaching staff were involved in a major literary enterprise of the 'Macedonian renaissance'. The headmaster, Gregory of Kampsas, collected a group of verse inscriptions that his junior colleague, Constantine Kephala, included in the huge collection of ancient and Byzantine epigrams that formed the basis of the *Palatine Anthology*, copied after 944 by Constantine the Rhodian, who was probably Kephala's pupil.³⁹ Thus the vast majority of the surviving epigrams on ancient and early Byzantine works of art, including many poems on baths and fountains, were read and copied in close proximity to the Nea Ekklesia and the aquatic establishments by which it was surrounded.

While Kephalas was compiling his anthology and Constantine the Rhodian was finishing his education at the Nea school, Basil I's son and successor Leo VI (886–912) added two constructions to the new Macedonian neighbourhood that extended it to the north-east and linked it up with the monastery *ton Hodegon* and the Church of the Archangels at *ta Steirou*. One was the monastery of St Lazaros, built to house the saint's relics that Leo had brought in *translatio* from Cyprus.⁴⁰ The other was a magnificent bath-house, established between the Oikonomeion of the Nea and the monastery *ton Hodegon*, within the satellite palace unit known as the House of Marina, or *ta Marines*, after the *nobilissima* Marina, daughter of Theodosius I, whose residence it had been at the beginning of the fifth century.⁴¹ The bath is known from three sources: an anacreontic poem by Leo Choirosphaktes celebrating the inauguration of 'the bath built by the emperor Leo in the imperial palace';⁴² the history of *Theophanes Continuatus*, which records that Constantine VII restored the bath that his father had constructed at *ta Marines*;⁴³ and the *Patria*, which calls it the bath of the Oikonomeion, attributes its construction to Constantine the Great, and records its demolition by John Tzimiskes (969–76).⁴⁴ The identity of the three structures has generally been accepted since I first proposed it.⁴⁵ From the three descriptions, we can visualise the bath as consisting of a central, octagonal pool house with seven recesses, and surrounded by annexes that could be interpreted as twelve porticoes. The outer parts of the structure were decorated with statues and sculptured reliefs of battle scenes; the inner chamber had mosaic cycles depicting mythological and fishing scenes; there were verse inscriptions and elaborate, zoomorphic waterspouts. The building was big, and in the words of *Theophanes Continuatus*, 'the wonder of our city'.

The bath obviously looked antique, so much so that it could be taken to be a work of Constantine the Great. Indeed, Cyril Mango has argued persuasively that it *was* basically antique, that is, that it was essentially a restoration of the fifth-century bath-house belonging to the Theodosian palace of Marina.⁴⁶ This interpretation has won general acceptance, and yet it fails to address the insistence of both Choirosphaktes and *Theophanes Continuatus* on the individual initiative and input of Leo VI. This remains in need of a convincing explanation: if the bath was a splendid relic of the glory days of the Christian empire, why was it not celebrated in terms of the renewal of that glorious past, rather than as the personal creation of the renovator? There has also been one important modification to the database since Mango wrote. A major plank in Mango's argument is the witness of an epigram by Palladas of Alexandria, *AP* 9.528. This poem, under the lemma 'On the House of Marina', celebrates a place of refuge for the Olympian

gods, where their statues are safe from being turned into bronze coins. Mango took this as evidence that the collection of statues alluded to by Choirosphaktes was in the House of Marina from an early date. However, Kevin Wilkinson has recently made a strong case for redating the career of the poet Palladas a century earlier, to the time of Constantine the Great. The Christian place of refuge for pagan statuary is thus nothing less than the newly founded city of Constantine, and the lemma is the addition of a later compiler, who could have been writing at any time up to and including the copying of the manuscript in the mid tenth century.⁴⁷ There is nothing against identifying the lemmatist with the main editor of the anthology, Constantine Kephala, who was living next door to the House of Marina at the very time when Leo VI was restoring or rebuilding its bath-house. In this case, the lemma might even be construed as a deliberate reuse of the epigram as a contemporary allusion to Leo and the House of Marina saving the statues from the recent fate to which Basil had condemned others in the building of the Nea Ekklesia. At the very least, the redating of Palladas disqualifies the evidence that the House of Marina housed a collection of statues before the end of the ninth century, while it strengthens the likelihood that the statues in the bath of Leo VI alluded to by Choirosphaktes were brought there by that emperor. This in turn makes it more likely that he added other elements to the building, and did not simply use what was there already.

Whether the bath at *ta Marines* was primarily a creation of the fifth or of the ninth–tenth century, it was surely the most sophisticated manifestation of the culture of water in the ‘Macedonian renaissance’. Its sophistication is enhanced, for the modern reader, by Leo Choirosphaktes’ remarkable poetic evocation, in which its rich, multimedia aesthetics are brought alive in a hundred short lines, with the water itself being dramatised as a major player, joining the bird and animal representations, the personifications of rivers, and the poet in a chorus of praise for the emperor. The person of the emperor is also elided with the image of the aquatic deity who dominates the iconography of the interior. Moreover, we may note that Choirosphaktes’ poetic interest in waterworks was not superficial. He later wrote an ekphrasis of the thermal springs at Pythia in Bithynia, which were much frequented by Leo VI. This was in effect an ekphrasis of a bath-house built by God.⁴⁸

In the literature of the ‘Macedonian renaissance’, the bath of Leo VI has come down to us as the high point of the culture of water at the imperial court. However, it was not entirely without sequel. The two main cultural patrons of the tenth century created ornamental waterworks, which

included some variations on the ninth-century pattern. The laudatory account of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in *Theophanes Continuatus* relates that

he constructed a porphyry guardhouse in front of his bedchamber, creating a water receptacle that he encircled with marble columns of glistening smoothness. And what else did his noble-minded soul contrive? He set an eagle of silver on top of the water pipe, looking not straight ahead but off to the side, proudly rearing its neck after having caught its prey, and stifling the snake that was coiled around its feet.⁴⁹

Constantine 'also embellished the Boukoleon with statues that he gathered from various places, and he laid out a fishpond there'.⁵⁰ Later in the century, an imperial personage, probably Basil the *parakoimomenos*, created a suburban villa, possibly the Palace of the Aretai, within a park that featured an elaborate set of waterworks.⁵¹ The poetic evocation by John Geometres mentions four streams (κρουνοί) that proliferate in the 'myriad artifices' of fountains and pools, associated with exquisitely lifelike sculptures. It alludes to baths of the Graces, to honey pouring from the rock, and a multitude of birds and beasts that sing the praises of their lord. The whole thing sounds like a large and complex *nymphaeum*, and yet the allusiveness of the description, the constant sliding between art and nature, between material reality and poetic imagination, make it impossible to be precise – to determine whether this was the restoration of an ancient *nymphaeum*, or a new construction assembled from ancient spolia. Just as with Choïrosphaktes' poem on the bath of Leo VI, all that is left of the construction is a literary tour de force on the subject of its artistic beauty, and all we can usefully do, after we have sifted the few tangible realia, is literary analysis and literary comparison. Indeed, the two poems cry out for comparative analysis. Their common features, perhaps due to their intertextuality, mark the continuity of the culture of water in the 'Macedonian renaissance' until the late tenth century.

The bath of Leo VI was demolished by John I Tzimiskes between 969 and 976. The *nymphaeum* of Basil the *parakoimomenos* would seem to have had a kinder fate. If it did indeed belong to what became the imperial palace of the Aretai, it would seem to have survived Basil's disgrace and dismissal by Basil II in 985. Yet it is unlikely that, after confiscating the estate, Basil II would have had much time for its beautiful, antiquarian waterworks. The Bulgar-slayer's own priorities in the culture of water are represented in the information of the contemporary *Patria* that he splendidly restored the *louma* at the church of the Blachernae.⁵²

The elite culture of water in ninth and tenth-century Byzantium followed and reflected the cultural revival of the 'Macedonian renaissance' in its contradictory and complementary facets; in art, ritual and literature. On the one hand, it reflected the revival of the ancient, secular ideal of urban *kallos*, as its most significant waterworks consisted of, or were framed by, antique sculptures. This was the culture of the fountain basin, the *nymphaeum*, the palace fishpond and the bath that was 'the wonder of our city'. On the other hand, the culture of water reflected the triumph and consolidation of religious Orthodoxy after the end of iconoclasm. This was the piety invested in the *louma*, the holy spring, the hagiography of miraculous cures and the sanctification of *phialai* transferred from profane contexts to church atria. The two cultures came together in the part of the city that nurtured their growth in the ninth century, the coastal strip of the area corresponding to region I of the city's original administrative divisions. In late antiquity, this area had been dominated by two monumental complexes: the Great Palace to the south and the *thermae* of Arcadius to the north, with the House of Marina in between. All had been lavish consumers of water. By the ninth century, the *thermae* had disappeared without trace, although it is possible that part of their operation was transferred to the holy baths, the *loumata* at *ta Steirou* and the monastery *ton Hodegon*, that functioned in the same area. But the other consumers were still there, and their consumption became conspicuous. This is indirect evidence that the mechanisms of supply were still effective.

Notes

- 1 Saradi 1995: 38–40; the aesthetics of urban praise in Byzantium are further explored by Saradi and other authors in Odorico and Messis 2012.
- 2 Ed. and tr. Downey 1957: 897, 863, 865; cf. Libanius, *Oratio* 9.220.
- 3 Ed. Treu 1906–7: 58.
- 4 Cod. Vind. Phil gr. 95, fol. 267v., ed. Polemis 2013: 290–2; on the text cf. Magdalino and Rhoby in Odorico and Messis 2012.
- 5 His description seems to evoke the long-distance aqueduct system, but it is likely that this had ceased to function in the twelfth century: Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008.
- 6 Ed. Billò 2000: 19.
- 7 *Theophanes*, ed. de Boor 1883–5: I, 440; tr. Mango and Scott 1997: 608.
- 8 Mango 1993: 131–2; Magdalino 2007b: I, 61–75.
- 9 See in general Mundell Mango 2015.

- 10 *Theophanes*, ed. de Boor 1883: 467, 472, 477–8; tr. Mango and Scott 1997: 641, 648, 655–6; *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 246, 269.
- 11 See T. Miller, in Thomas and Hero 2000: I, 67–9.
- 12 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 185–7; Symeon Logothete, ed. Wahlgren 2006: 230–1; Magdalino 2007b: I, 50–1.
- 13 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 269.
- 14 Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 122–3.
- 15 Guiland 1969: I, 132–40.
- 16 Ed. Bekker 1838: 140–2; tr. Mango 1972: 161–2.
- 17 Symeon Logothete, ed. Wahlgren 2006: 228; *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 278–84, 296–300.
- 18 Described in *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 600–2.
- 19 Ed. Delehaye 1902: cols. 935–40; cf. Magdalino 2007b: I, 34–5, 93, 101.
- 20 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 223; Angelidi and Papamastorakis 2000.
- 21 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 339 (= *Vita Basilii*, ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 304–5). For the identification and location of the church, see Janin 1969: 471–2, and Berger 1988: 386–8.
- 22 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 184, 221.
- 23 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 279–80.
- 24 Ed. Wahlgren 2006: 265.
- 25 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 327–8 (= *Vita Basilii*, ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 277–9).
- 26 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 336 (= *Vita Basilii*, ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 297–8); Guiland 1969: 211–16.
- 27 *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske 1829–30: I, 284–93.
- 28 Ed. de Boor 1883–5: I, 368; tr. Mango and Scott 1997: 513.
- 29 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 336 (= *Vita Basilii*, ed. and tr. Ševčenko 2011: 297–8).
- 30 On the sinister connotations of the Hippodrome and the factions, see Dagron 2011: 253–87.
- 31 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 184.
- 32 See above, nn. 20 and 21.
- 33 *Life of Stephen the Younger*, ed. and tr. Auzépy 1997: 126, 128, 142, 145, 221, 223–4, 238–9, 242.
- 34 See e.g. on Theodore Styppeiotes, John Kinnamos, ed. Meineke 1836: 232–3; cf. Magdalino 1993: 198–9.
- 35 Paris Gregory: Par. gr. 510, fol. 332; cf. Brubaker 2001; Trahoulia 1997.
- 36 Gero 1974; Magdalino 2006: 58–60.
- 37 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 155–6; Magdalino 2007a: 123–4.
- 38 Magdalino 1987 (= Magdalino 2007b: no. V).
- 39 See AP 7.327, 334, 429; Cameron 1993; Lauxtermann 2003: 86–93, 116–17.
- 40 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 222, 288; Janin 1969: 298–300.
- 41 Magdalino 1988.

- 42 Text and English translation in Magdalino 1988: 116–18; most recent edition with Italian tr. by Ciccollella 2000: 91–107.
- 43 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 460–1.
- 44 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 145.
- 45 Magdalino 1988: 99–100
- 46 Mango 1991: 321–30.
- 47 Wilkinson 2009: especially 37–8 and 54–6.
- 48 Ed. Gallavotti 1990.
- 49 Ed. Bekker 1838: 451; tr. Mango 1972: 208.
- 50 Ed. Bekker 1838: 447; tr. Mango 1972: 207–8.
- 51 Ed. Cramer 1841: IV, 276–8; cf. H. Maguire 1990 and Lauxtermann 1998.
- 52 *Patria*, ed. Preger 1901–7: 283.

8 | When bath became church: spatial fusion in late antique Constantinople and beyond

JESPER BLID KULLBERG

Introduction

Over the last half-century, archaeological investigations have increasingly mapped the progressive, and often seemingly unplanned, development of late antique cityscapes – the changing tendencies that forever altered the urban fabric of the classical Greco-Roman world.¹ The traditional, almost canonical practice by which municipal buildings, temples and various monumental constructions were located slowly started to dissolve. An escalation in the privatisation of municipal property resulted in the large open areas – which were dedicated to civil life and amusements – being frequently filled up with domestic housing, and the ‘reuse’ of older buildings and building-elements became an ever-increasing phenomenon.² With the growing dominance of Christianity, many former cultic centres of the polytheists were converted or reused in various ways, as shown by both archaeological and literary evidence.³ One of many famous narratives on the late antique fate of pagan temples is given by John Malalas, who describes the sixth-century use of the Temples of Aphrodite and Artemis on the Acropolis of Constantinople, serving respectively as a gambling joint for dice players and a garage for the carriages of the praetorian prefect.⁴ Such literary accounts, which attest to conversion and reuse of polytheistic temples, can be compared with archaeological investigations;⁵ this practice, which in more recent years has been coined ‘the archaeology of temple conversion’, has gained an acknowledged position on the horizon of late antique studies.⁶ Yet, architectural conversion was not solely a concept of transcendence from sacred to sacred or ‘temple to church’. In fact, there coexisted several less noted public and private milieus that were similarly converted into the nexus of Christian sacred architecture.

From bath to church in Constantinople

At the core of the imperial capital of Constantinople, not far from the main street, the Mese, and the monumental Forum of Theodosios, in a triangular

space wedged in between the Kalenderhane Camii and the Aqueduct of Valens, today almost hidden, was a small Roman bath establishment constructed in late antiquity (fig. 8.1).⁷ The architectural remains were unearthed in the 1960s and, owing to their modest size, these baths were interpreted as *balneae privatae*,⁸ an interpretation which was also accepted in secondary studies.⁹ Stylistically, the asymmetrical plan of these baths features a sequence of curvilinear rooms that conform to an architectural concept which is found at numerous *thermae* of villas and residences preserved around the Mediterranean.¹⁰ Such small private baths must have been common in the city since no less than 153 were recorded in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* of the early fifth century.¹¹ The archaeological investigations around the Kalenderhane also yielded evidence that the baths already present in late antiquity partially gave way to a Christian basilica, the so-called North Church. The south-western area of the baths was radically restructured into an innovative passageway between the church and an abutting, larger building further to the south (fig. 8.2).¹² The North Church was itself replaced later, and two more church phases set out on a slightly different axis were recorded. The last phase constitutes the bulk of the current Kalenderhane Camii, which is identified (based on preserved mural frescoes) with the Church of the Virgin Kyriotissa and dated to c.1200.

In the initial publication of the excavations, the Kalenderhane complex was identified with the monastery of *ta Kyrou*, although this has been contradicted in two later studies by C. Mango and P. Magdalino.¹³ Both Mango and Magdalino have argued that the church was not monastic but rather a parochial church, which, according to literary accounts, was founded by the fifth-century poet Cyrus of Panopolis and dedicated to the Virgin Theotokos.¹⁴ The chronology of the baths and the North Church, as based on the archaeological findings, are respectively about AD 400 and the third quarter of the sixth century.¹⁵ Yet, owing to the insufficient archaeological data coming from closed deposits,¹⁶ we can only conclude that the answer to the chronology of the different late antique phases remains disturbingly unclear, and that there is a major discrepancy between archaeological and literary sources. Regardless of the specific chronology of the construction of the North Church, we at least know that it replaced the earlier bath-complex some time during the fifth or sixth centuries.

The North Church was constructed parallel to the Aqueduct of Valens, which was integrated into the church space in a fascinating way by having two of its arcades equipped with galleries facing the nave. The purpose behind the amalgamation of the Roman baths and the North Church is difficult to decipher, as it appears to be unsystematic and unplanned. The baths

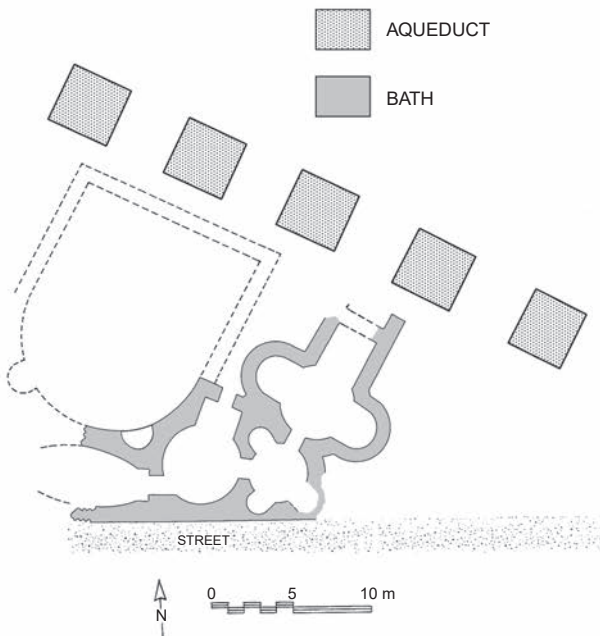
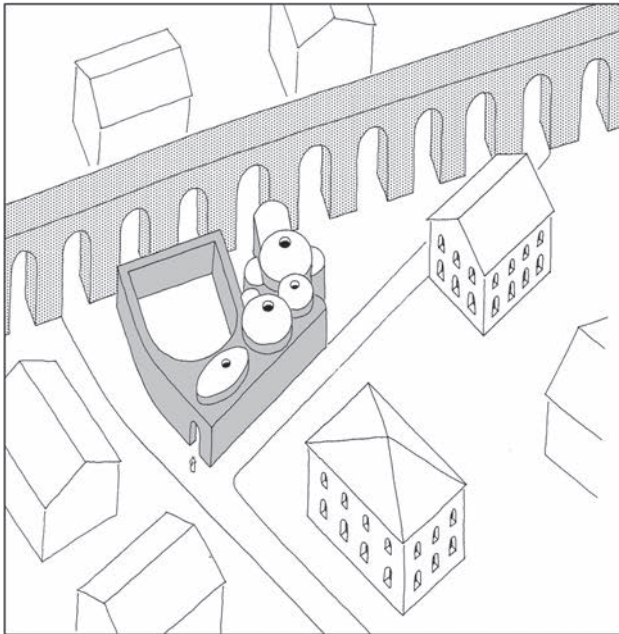


Fig 8.1. The Roman baths of the Kalenderhane complex, drawn by Jesper Blid Kullberg after Striker and Kuban 1997, figs. 11 and 12.

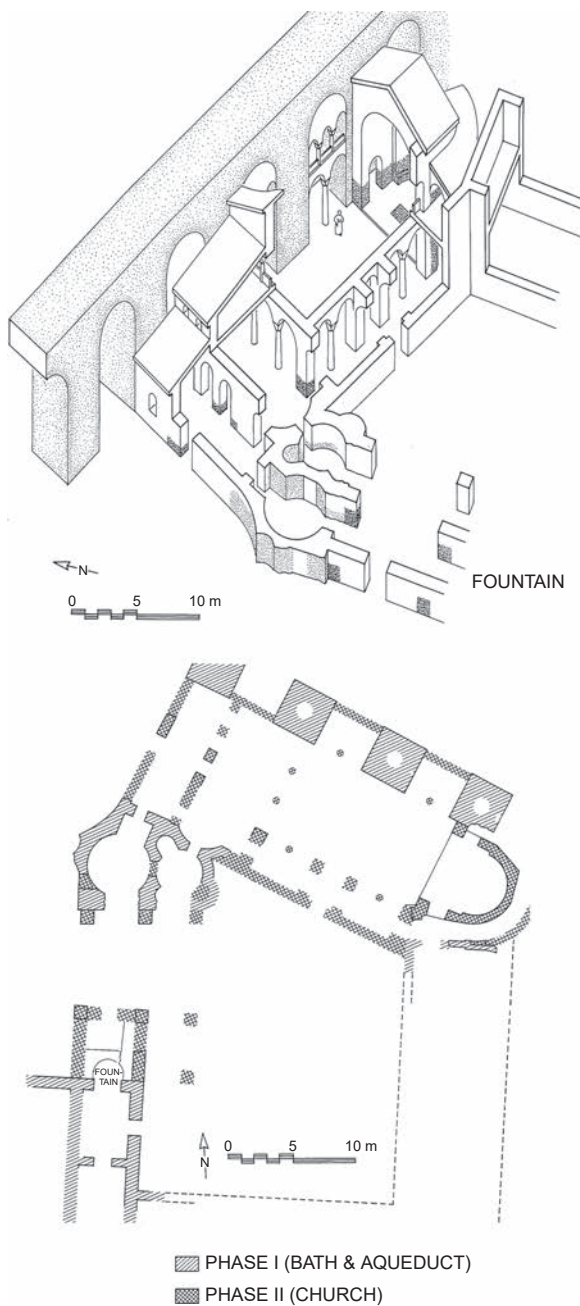


Fig 8.2. The North Church of the Kalenderhane complex, drawn by Jesper Blid Kullberg after Striker and Kuban 1997, figs. 16 and 18A.

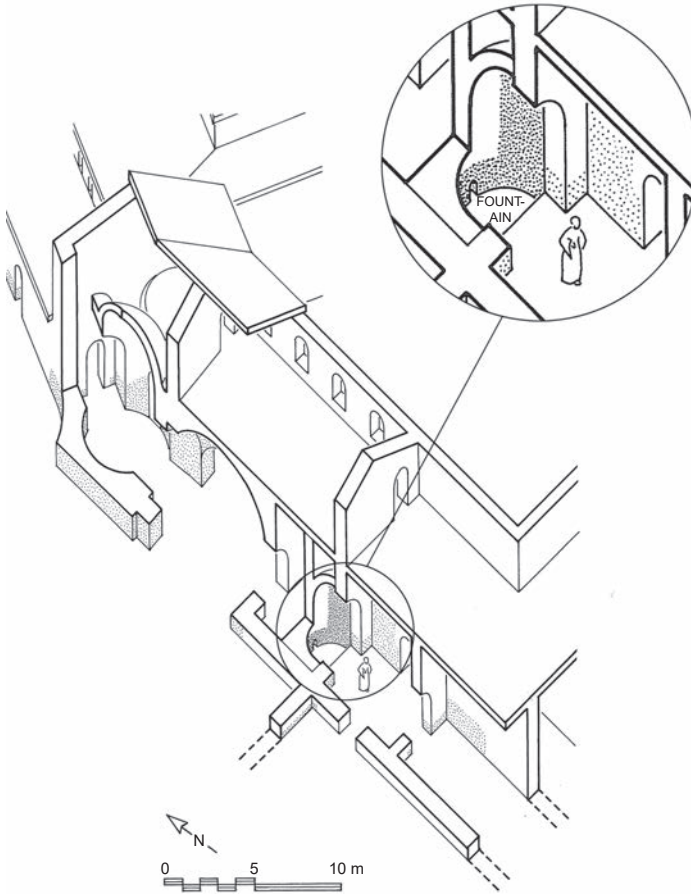


Fig 8.3. The fountain of the Kalenderhane complex, drawn by Jesper Blid Kullberg after Striker and Kuban 1997, figs. 58 and 59.

were, for instance, not reused to increase the monumentality of the North Church nor turned into something expected, such as a baptistery. The only possible reuse of the hydraulic infrastructure of the baths was found about 15 m south of the church. During the excavation, a water duct was apparently traced from one of the rooms of the baths leading southwards, feeding a fountain located inside the west wing of what was interpreted as part of a monastic area related to the North Church (fig. 8.3).¹⁷ The fountain was believed to be contemporaneous with the North Church and to have fallen into disuse by the seventh or eighth century.¹⁸

Striker and Kuban's architectural analysis of the conversion pinpoints several noteworthy features. The many *ad hoc* solutions that occurred owing to the amalgamation of the baths and church were the result of making new constructions in a densely built urban area.¹⁹ The fact that the major part of the church was built in the tightly wedged space between the baths, a street and the aqueduct, adds further credibility to the argument. Most walls of the western area of the baths were incorporated into the church complex, which is probably a measure of practical constraints. The inclusion of the previous building with minor structural modifications was doubtlessly easier than deconstructing and rebuilding everything *ex novo*. The reuse of the aqueduct as the northern wall of the basilica determined the orientation of the church, which differed from that of the Roman baths.²⁰ The conversion of the Kalenderhane complex appears to lack aesthetical considerations regarding the reuse of building elements belonging to the baths. The appearance of the confined multi-apsed rooms was apparently difficult to translate into the preferred, elongated shape of a Christian basilica, which led to the demolition of the baths' eastern half.

The fountain at the Kalenderhane complex

What then was the function of the fountain of the Kalenderhane complex, which was contemporary with the North Church, and feasibly provided for by reused conduits of the earlier Roman baths? Although the unsatisfying quantity of evidence omits a secure function-analysis, there are archaeological verifications that point towards an architectural connection with the church. The fountain was not situated *inside* the ecclesiastical space but instead within close proximity at a building that was architecturally interconnected with the church (with considerable skill and effort) via the remodelled remains of the Roman baths. In my opinion, an architectural connection between the church and the abutting building could be established owing to the spatial adaption of the baths, which unified these two spatial entities. Even if there was no monastic function at the Kalenderhane complex, the North Church may still have been surrounded by buildings that were, in various ways, related to the church and its everyday functions.²¹ It cannot be proven that the fountain was a source of e.g. sacred water but it may still illustrate the cause behind the reuse of the baths: perhaps as one element (among several?) to recycle the still functioning hydraulic system. The remainder of this chapter will explore the broader context for this hypothesis.

Three cases from beyond Constantinople

Architectural merges between baths and churches have also been recorded outside of Constantinople. For instance, several cases are known from northern Greece and Anatolia. These are, interestingly, similar to the Kalenderhane complex, i.e. not related to baptism or architectural grandeur (with one exception that will be presented below). We will review the archaeological evidence in three selected glimpses, chosen because of their availability through published archaeological and architectural surveys. First, Thessalonike and the renowned Basilica of St Demetrios that replaced an earlier Roman bath-establishment some time during the fifth century (see plate 7).²² The veneration of St Demetrios is believed to have started inside the baths where the saint (according to legend) was imprisoned and martyred.²³ Reuse of the earlier structures has been mapped in the crypt, which is located under the apse of the fifth-century basilica and inside the remains of the Roman baths. At the centre of the crypt, a hexagonal marble ciborium still surrounds a basin that was originally a source of 'blessed' water. In the Middle Byzantine period, the water was replaced by *myron*. The fountain may originally have been a *nymphaeum* of the Roman baths,²⁴ and it was supplied by a conduit that led water from the nearby well of the *thermae*.²⁵

The second example comes from an extra-urban context of south-western Asia Minor: the sanctuary of Labraunda in the ancient region of Caria. Labraunda was originally a polytheistic sanctuary of Zeus that was gradually converted into a Christian place of worship, starting from the early fifth century. The earliest recorded church at Labraunda was built inside, and partly reused, a bath establishment (the East Bath) of the mid-first century AD (fig. 8.4).²⁶ Both excavation and geophysical survey have revealed traces of levelled walls of the baths and intact terracotta conduits under the church floor. As a result of the construction of the church, new junctions were made to the ducts of the earlier baths in order to supply a narrow channel in the centre of the apse floor. Jean-Pierre Sodini has assisted in the identification of this structure as a *thalassidion*, usually recognised as a receptacle for waste water used to wash vessels applied during Mass.²⁷ It is therefore less surprising that about forty late antique beakers of glass were excavated from inside the channel.²⁸

The third and final example, which has been chosen to broaden the character of the sample, may challenge the previous notion that conversions of baths did not result in architectural grandeur. At Phrygian Hierapolis, we find one of the grandest attempts at converting baths into

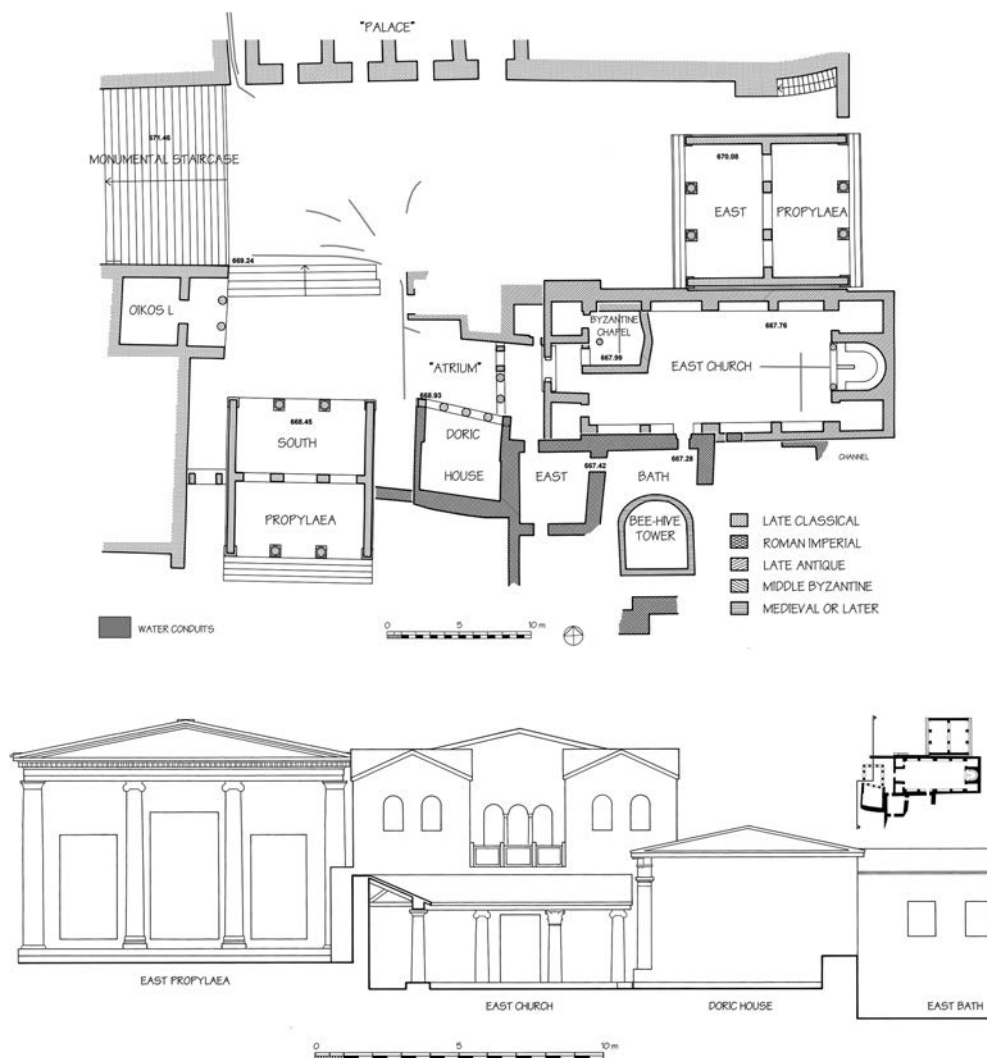


Fig 8.4. The East Church Complex at Carian Labraunda, drawn by Jesper Blid Kullberg.

a major church. The so-called Kaplıcalar Basilica or Terme-Chiesa, situated north of the Agora, was, surely with huge efforts, inserted into the *tepidarium*,²⁹ or possible *caldarium*,³⁰ of a Roman bath-complex dated to around the third century AD (fig. 8.5).³¹ The actual conversion may stylistically be dated from interior, decorative elements which are similar to what can be found at the octagonal *martyrion* at Hierapolis (the Philippeion), which is believed to have been built during the first quarter of the fifth century.³² The monumental dimensions of the

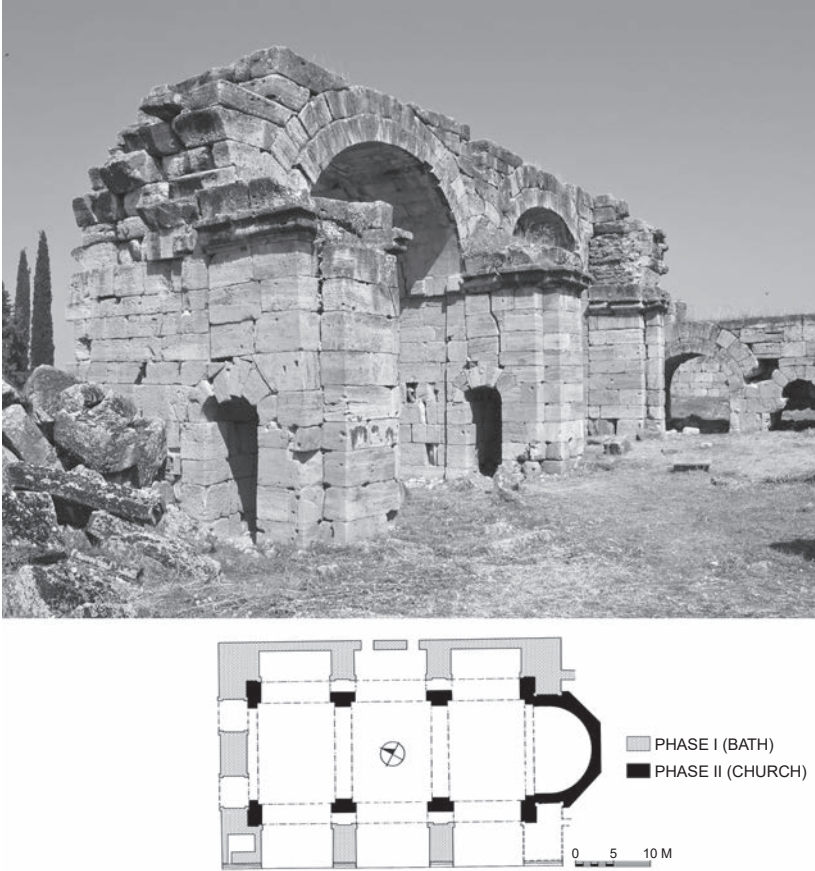


Fig 8.5. The Kaplıcalar-Basilica at Phrygian Hierapolis.

Photograph: Jesper Blid Kullberg; plan drawn by Jesper Blid Kullberg after de Bernardi Ferrero 1987, 127.

Kaplıcalar Basilica allowed for a spatial readaption remarkably akin to Michelangelo's church of St Maria degli Angeli inside the ancient Baths of Diocletian in Rome, constructed about a thousand years later. At the Kaplıcalar Basilica, new piers were erected, which divided the building into three bays and an additional apse formed the choir of the church. The hall-shape of the room was in accordance with the Christian design, yet for practical reasons forming a hall church rather than a traditional three-aisled basilica. Unfortunately, I have not found any records of how, and if, the hydraulic infrastructure of the baths was in some way reused in the Kaplıcalar Basilica.

Current ideas on converted baths

There exists today no consensus on why baths, both public and private, were converted to or adjoined churches and monasteries in late antiquity. However, important reflections on the reuse and changes within Roman bath culture have appeared in several studies. I. Nielsen observed how many baths became directly adjoined to monasteries and churches during the fifth and sixth centuries.³³ This tendency rapidly increased even though the aims behind the connection between bath and church may have changed over time. Magdalino concluded that by the eleventh century, churches and monasteries actually accounted for the vast majority of bath-houses.³⁴ K. Hattersley-Smith argued that certain late antique baths of Macedonia were probably privatised and maintained by the Christian clergy.³⁵ There is even evidence to suggest that the baths were still in use by the time they were associated with Christian churches.³⁶ Hattersley-Smith suggested that the reason for this might be the systems of water pipes drawn to the baths for use in the baptisteries.³⁷ S. Ćurčić analogously conformed to the idea of the necessity of extant water-supply lines to be used for baptisteries.³⁸ Magdalino (based primarily on literary sources) also associated ideas of healing and cleansing of the Roman bath culture with Christian perceptions on the mystery of baptism.³⁹

Attempting a holistic, generalising approach as to why baths were subject to conversion into church architecture is problematic for two main reasons: (1) the question of proprietorship (*res privata* contra *res publica*), as well as (2) the practical, functionalistic problem, i.e. why baths? For the private sphere, baths and sacred installations coexisted in many aristocratic residences, although they were separate. In the Christian context of late antique Constantinople, both archaeological and literary evidence attest to semi-private churches being attached to exclusive mansions and palaces of the city (again, separated from baths).⁴⁰ Such aristocratic milieus were reviewed in the lofty narrative of Olympiodorus with reference to the city of Rome: 'Each of the great houses of Rome contained within itself ... temples, fountains and different kinds of baths.'⁴¹ As regards the merging of bath and church in the private context, however, it seems unlikely that a wealthy Christian citizen would substitute his 'favourite' mundane pleasure for a church or a chapel. If there was a shortage of free space within the dwelling that impeded the construction of a palace chapel, it is likely that there were other areas than the baths that would have been replaced.

Late antique Constantinople saw frequent acts of euergetism, whereby substantial properties were donated to the church and transformed into

both parochial churches and monasteries.⁴² Nonetheless, the shift in proprietorship between wealthy citizens and the institutional church does not fully explain the tendency to convert baths, an act which was also evident in the public sphere. Instead, I believe that the conversion of baths may serve as a barometer of general, public values and attitudes towards bathing – attitudes that the early institutional church could exploit to meet its liturgical needs. Let us therefore briefly survey the character of the traditional Roman bath culture and the features that became so desirable to the church.

Roman bath culture and Christian attitudes to water, cleanliness and health

The social impact of ancient bath culture within the Roman Empire cannot be exaggerated. All over the Roman world, cityscapes incorporated public bath-complexes that were constructed to offer citizens of both sexes the opportunity to engage in one of the most characteristic forms of Roman social interaction. The public baths displayed the most sophisticated structural engineering of their time, and luxurious interior decoration conveyed a dazzling impression to the citizens – a ‘people’s palace’ – where everyone could experience economic and cultural prosperity during the empire’s heyday.

A visit to the *thermae* ‘went far beyond the functional and hygienic necessities of washing’;⁴³ it was a cultural custom strongly connected with Roman self-image. The bath, and the social culture that arose from bathing, became a symbol of Roman culture in all corners of the empire. The *thermae* constituted an integral part of urban daily life: apart from providing leisure and cleanliness, some of the larger baths also contained libraries, art galleries, theatres and areas for physical exercise. There is evidence, moreover, that public baths could accommodate political meetings. Other, more basic corporal activities could be practised at the brothels of certain baths. We even see literary references to baths that occasionally, however unintentionally, harboured the outcasts of society who warmed themselves at night by furnaces and in porticoes.⁴⁴

Roman baths are also known to have accommodated both spiritual gatherings and statues of gods even though such statues, according to Nielsen, were primarily kept for decorative reasons and the baths were in essence secular establishments.⁴⁵ Without engaging too much in a long and arduous discussion concerning appropriate terminology and definitions, I would suggest that ‘secular’ is a modern conception that

should be used with some caution when dealing with ancient cultures. Furthermore, as I will argue below, the baths were, on the contrary, locales exposing an abundance of spiritual connotations, as seen, for instance, with the cultic areas that have been archaeologically recorded inside several *thermae*.

As previously shown, the bath experience included a vast variety of activities, which were all part of the public appeal. Furthermore, where many people circulated, ideas of spiritual character were likely to be ventilated and shared. Much archaeological evidence suggests that it was the rule rather than the exception for various cultic locales and iconographic elements to be connected with Roman baths. These did not comprise of representations just of traditional Hellenic mythology,⁴⁶ but also imperial cult, Judaism, Mithraism and also – over time – Christianity.⁴⁷ Even though the public *thermae* of the Roman Empire cannot be said to be primarily spiritual centres, traces of everyday cult practices and beliefs were apparently manifested. Statues of gods with connotations of healing and hygiene, such as Asclepius and Hygieia, were always popular.⁴⁸ I would argue that this traditional connection to divinities that offered physical health by everyday bathing is a key element in understanding why churches regularly replaced or supplemented both public and private baths in late antiquity.

I suggest that the traditional institutionalised relationship between hygiene and spirituality established a syncretic reflection whereby the church absorbed some of the diversity of the Roman bath experience. Similar lines of thought have been used to explain the popularity and outline of the early Christian pilgrimage movement. In his study on pilgrimage *loci* in Asia Minor, H. Hellenkemper suggested that the public did not solely engage in sacred movement for pious reasons but also for curative purposes often associated with water.⁴⁹ We may therefore scrutinise the extant evidence of converted baths in the light of Hellenkemper's hypothesis, such as the above-mentioned example from late antique Macedonia where Hattersley-Smith demonstrates examples of privatised baths maintained by the Christian clergy. H. G. Saradi also noted that miraculous healing by saints was often provided from washing in a bath.⁵⁰ Given a possible symbolic translation of the ancient Roman hydrotherapeutics into, for example, *hagiasmata*, containing 'sacred' water with healing abilities, one parameter in the conversion process of Roman baths may be revealed.

This line of thought would thus exclude Christian conversions of baths as 'eradication' of the ancient bath culture owing to, for instance, believed immoral behaviour and excesses in worldly pleasures, which come to the fore in some of the preserved writings of prominent Christian theologians

of late antiquity.⁵¹ Both Yegül and Magdalino argued that many distinguished members of the clergy and the public at large still visited *thermae* frequently during late antiquity.⁵²

As already noted, several studies have related the Roman attitude to healing and cleansing, in connection with the Roman bath culture, with Christian perceptions on the mystery of baptism. Accordingly, several scholars have argued that the main factor behind the reuse of baths was the feeding of baptismal fonts with water from the extant plumbing. In fact, several archaeological investigations from Italy – for example, Rome and Milan – have confirmed baptisteries replacing earlier baths.⁵³ For the eastern Mediterranean, however, the evidence points towards a more multifaceted explanation.

The problem of equating ideas of the Roman bath culture with baptism, and suggesting that this relation is the singular reason behind the merging of bath and church, does not, in my opinion, fully engage with the traditional Roman attitude towards bathing. Bathing was a custom performed on a regular basis, preferably daily. Hygiene was, in the Roman perception, about mundane well-being. On the other hand, the Christian view of baptism concerns a far more important, long-term guarantee, that of eternal life in Christ. Baptism was the believer's way of cleansing his/her sins, a rite of passage, that guaranteed 'citizenship in heaven.'⁵⁴ In the words of Tertullian, 'in baptism the spirit is corporally washed, while the flesh is spiritually cleansed.'⁵⁵

Conclusion

In the founding legend of Cyrus' church in Constantinople (the Kalenderhane complex), written down in the eleventh–twelfth centuries, Cyrus erected a church to the Virgin on a spot where a man had been cured miraculously of an eye disease.⁵⁶ Such narratives often occur in the medieval sources, frequently in relation to 'living', i.e. flowing, water and the miraculous abilities of sacred springs. Fountains or natural springs of certain churches such as, for instance, the Basilica of St Demetrios at Thessalonike generally provided such sacred, living water. The living, flowing water, sanctioned by the Virgin and the saints' relics, was the prescription for a number of physical problems, which must regularly have haunted people in the age before modern medicine.⁵⁷ In order to supply sacred water, which was the reason for frequent visitations (and probably generous donations) to certain churches, a working hydraulic infrastructure, such as the one noted at St Demetrios,

must have been coveted. This also applies to other water installations of the late antique churches, such as ablution fountains and receptacles for 'sanctified' waste water.

With the increasing privatisation of the late antique cityscapes, as we have seen, the institutional church acquired more and more earlier public and private property through *clementia* and *pietas* shown by wealthy citizens. At the same time, many of the communal institutions, such as the large public baths, started to decay owing to decreasing 'secular' patronage.⁵⁸ I believe that ecclesiastical privatisation of earlier baths may be the origin of the Kalenderhane complex. The construction of the North Church even resulted in the demise of something very communal, namely a road that passed by the previous baths.⁵⁹

As evidenced by both archaeological and literary accounts, smaller, private baths managed by the church continued to offer daily hygiene throughout the Byzantine Middle Ages. The rich donations to the church during late antiquity naturally included *thermae* with still-functioning plumbing systems. These were either rebuilt into churches or kept intact, and were integrated into ecclesiastical complexes in order to use the water for various reasons. The basic need to provide daily hygiene and corporal cleanliness for the public at operative *thermae* does not, however, seem to have been enough either for the church nor for the citizens. The spiritual connotations that were already a pertinent part of Roman bath culture, as I argue – hydrotherapeutic healing provided by divine patronage – also had to be integrated into the Christian sphere, in order to rid the citizens of painful afflictions. Even though this appropriation by the church was not made at one specific occasion under the influence of a uniform Christian dogma, the institution as such gradually colonised the previous practice associated with the Roman thermal baths (and the traditional Hellenic cults).

In contrast to Christian conversions of earlier polytheistic sanctuaries, which are often gradually encroached over a longer period of time, usually from the mid-fifth to the seventh centuries,⁶⁰ the reuse of water systems of previous *thermae* for baptisteries and *thalassidia* are archaeologically recorded as early as the fourth and early fifth centuries. I would expect, although a large body of evidence is lacking, that the practice of offering healing by means of sacred water from fountains and pools inside churches may be a somewhat later, fifth-century phenomenon.⁶¹

As for the case of the Kalenderhane complex (or the Church of the Virgin Kyriotissa), it is tempting to suggest a hydrotherapeutic healing function for the sixth-century fountain paralleled by similar,

contemporaneous late antique examples. The medieval literary accounts that tell of the church being built at a site where miraculous healing had occurred spurs this assumption further, especially since sacred springs connected with physical healing were often found in connection with churches dedicated to the Virgin.⁶² Yet, the lack of evidence that can relate the archaeological record (the late antique fountain) and the eleventh–twelfth-century literary account, mentioning healing, offers as often a methodological dilemma. Despite few reliable sources, we may at least recognise the possibility that the sixth-century fountain functioned as a *locus sanctus* aimed at curing diseases. Owing to the considerable building activity which occurred at the Kalenderhane complex during the early Middle Ages, the fountain fell into disuse by the seventh or eighth centuries. The memory and practise of healing may, however, have endured into the Middle Byzantine period, when the founding legend of the church was written down.

Notes

- 1 My sincere gratitude goes to Jim Crow, Luke Lavan, Paul Magdalino, Henry Maguire and Peter Talloen for their generous assistance in helping me to find source material for this chapter.
- 2 Cf. Baldini Lippolis 2007: 203; Saradi 2006: 186–208.
- 3 See the recent study on different late antique conversion models of ancient polytheistic temples in Talloen and Vercauteren 2011.
- 4 Malalas 13.39 in Jeffreys, Jeffreys and Scott 1986: 267.
- 5 E.g. Deichmann 1982; Elton 2007; Gregory 1986; Hahn 2008; Karivieri 1996; Ousterhout 2005; Vaes 1984–6.
- 6 Cf. Bayliss 2004; see also Saradi 2006: 197–8.
- 7 Based on a relative chronology, these baths are believed to postdate the aqueduct: Striker and Kuban 2007: 7.
- 8 Striker and Kuban 1997. See also the preliminary reports: Striker and Kuban 1968: 185–93; and Striker and Kuban 1971: 251–8.
- 9 Yegül 1995: 324, figs. 413a–b; Yegül 2008: 174–6, fig. 11.3; and Ćurčić 2010: 89–90, fig. 81.
- 10 See Blid 2012: 82–8, figs. 56–7.
- 11 Striker and Kuban 1997: 7; Yegül 2008: 176.
- 12 Striker and Kuban 1997: 40.
- 13 Mango 1998: 586–90; Magdalino, in press.
- 14 Yet, the literary account by Theophylact Simocatta 8.8.11 (Whitby and Whitby 1986), compiling his *Histories* about 611/12–629/30 (on the dating of *The History*

- of *Simocatta*; cf. Frendo 1988: 156), dated Cyrus' construction of the church to the reign of Theodosios II. See the study on Cyrus and the Church of the Theotokos (possibly built in c. 439) in Cameron 1982: 240, 242, 289.
- 15 Striker and Kuban 1997: 8; Striker and Kuban 2007: 7–8.
 - 16 Striker and Kuban 2007: 7–8.
 - 17 Striker and Kuban 1997: 91; Striker and Kuban 2007: fig. 35. As for the identification of the west wing as monastic, Magdalino argues that the area was not monastic but was, at least in the time of the tenth-century poet John Geometres who was associated with the Church of the Theotokos *ta Kyrou*, governed by a lay confraternity that engaged in various pious activities. The fraternity also joined in cultural activities which were linked with the famous Romanos the Melodist, who had been buried here at the time when the North Church was still in use; Magdalino, in press.
 - 18 Striker and Kuban 1997: 90–1; Striker and Kuban 2007: 8.
 - 19 Striker and Kuban 1997: 95.
 - 20 Striker and Kuban 1997: 37.
 - 21 E.g. facilities for the caring and bathing of the poor and sick, storage, residential areas, etc.
 - 22 Remains of baths have also been excavated in connection to other late antique churches of Thessalonike, such as St Sophia and the Acheiropoietos: Hattersley-Smith 1996: 141–2; see also Ćurčić 2010: 109.
 - 23 The legend of St Demetrios finds a close parallel with the life of St Phokas of Sinope. St Phokas was tortured and martyred within a bath-complex at Sinope on the Black Sea coast. The later church which was erected within these baths, the so-called 'Balat Kilise', has recently been excavated; cf. Köroğlu 2012.
 - 24 Walter 2003: 73.
 - 25 Bakirtzis 2003: 185–6.
 - 26 Blid 2012: 175–83.
 - 27 Similar structures are known from a number of late antique churches around the eastern Mediterranean, e.g. Jerash, Jerusalem, Kourion (Cyprus), Soloi (Cyprus) and Abu Mina (Egypt); cf. Blid 2012: 192–9.
 - 28 Blid 2012: 192–9.
 - 29 The function of the room was determined from an excavation in 1967 which revealed the remains of a *praefurnium* in a subterranean area under the building, de Bernardi Ferrero 1987: 127; de Bernardi 2002: 271.
 - 30 Arthur 2006: 100.
 - 31 Arthur 2006: 100.
 - 32 De Bernardi 2002: 276.
 - 33 Nielsen 1990: 98–9.; see also Saradi 2006: 328–9.
 - 34 Magdalino 1990: 169.
 - 35 Hattersley-Smith 1996: 235–6.
 - 36 Hattersley-Smith 1996: 235–6.
 - 37 Hattersley-Smith 1996: 35–6, 123, 236.

- 38 Ćurčić 2010: 109.
- 39 Magdalino 1990: 167.
- 40 Cf. Harrison 1989; Croke 2006: 25–63. There is also further evidence for frequent constructions of chapels and churches in the private residences and palaces of the aristocracy: Baldini Lippolis 2007: 205; Saradi 2006: 420.
- 41 Olympiodorus, frag. 41.1, in Blockley 1983.
- 42 Cf. Hatlie 2007: 78–80; Baldini Lippolis 2007: 222; see also Saradi 2006: 411 (n. 2283).
- 43 Yegül 1995: 1.
- 44 John Chrysostomos 1.8.21 in F. Allen 1869, ‘poor man lying on chaff in the porticoes of the baths, covered with straw, is trembling, numb with cold, and fainting with hunger’. See also Asterius of Amasia, *Or.* 3.12.8–11 in Anderson and Goodspeed 1904: ‘they either take refuge beside the furnaces of the baths, or, finding the attendants of the baths inhospitable, they dig into the dung like swine, and so contrive to get for themselves the needful warmth’.
- 45 Nielsen 1990: 145.
- 46 Cf. Saradi 2006: 326.
- 47 For instance the *mithraea* of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome: Yegül 1995: 154; *Therme del Mitra* in Ostia: www.ostia-antica.org/regio1/17/17-2.htm and the synagogue inside the perimeter of the Bath Gymnasium at Sardis: Seager 1972: 425–35; for literary references to late antique baths with Christian decorations: see H. Maguire 1987b: 12; and Cupane 1979: 195–207. For archaeological evidence of Christian decorations in baths: see Saradi 2006: 330–2, plan 36 and fig. 43.
- 48 Nielsen 1990: 146.
- 49 With a certain emphasis on the pilgrimage site of St Thekla in Cilicia (Meriamlık), where a spring is repeatedly mentioned in textual sources but has not been identified archaeologically: Hellenkemper 1995: 267. See also Karivieri’s study on the conversion of the Asklepieion at Athens where the healing spring of the cult was reused, possibly for curative purposes, in an early Christian basilica: Karivieri 1995: 898–905. For a synthetic survey of baths in connection to late antique sites of pilgrimage, see Berger 1982: 33–4.
- 50 Saradi 2006: 327.
- 51 Cf. Magdalino 1990: 169–70.
- 52 Magdalino 1990: 166–7; Yegül 2008: 170.
- 53 E.g. the Lateran Baptistery, Rome: Johnson 2006: 285; and Milan: Roberti 1963: 86.
- 54 Cf. M. L. White 1990: 140.
- 55 Tertullian, *De baptismo* 4.5, using the translation by Norderval 2011: 955–80.
- 56 Cf. Mango 1998: 558.
- 57 For a reference to certain places that provided this sacred water, and the diseases which sacred water was considered to heal: see Talbot 2002a and Talbot 2002b.

58 Cf. Ward-Perkins 1984: 128.

59 Striker and Kuban 2007: 7. This was possibly a common problem for the authorities of late antique Constantinople since a law of Theodosios II and Valentinian actually forbids the appropriation of streets; cf. Saradi 2006: 194.

60 Cf. Blid 2012: 251–68.

61 One case that could illustrate this is the secondary installation of a late fifth- or early sixth-century fountain inside the West Church at Labraunda, which I argue is a gradual development of the site-bound Christian mythology: Blid 2012: 117–18, 157–8.

62 For the case of the Zoodochos Pege Shrine in Constantinople, see Talbot 2002b, and Kimmelfield in this volume. Procopius also refers to this place as ‘a church built here (to the virgin) close to a sweet-water spring,’ *Buildings* 1.3.6–9.

9 | Zoomorphic rainwater spouts

PHILIPP NIEWÖHNER

Rainwater spouts do not appear to have been customary in late antique architecture.¹ Basilicas with pitched roofs do not require spouts because overhanging eaves are sufficient to throw the rainwater off the roof and protect the walls from humidity. This changed in the sixth century with the introduction of domed churches. Vaulted roofs frequently led to the accumulation of rainwater, for example at the intersection of two barrel vaults. Moreover, vaults were normally roofed without a truss, and with tiles, or more typically lead, being applied directly onto the masonry. This precludes the use of overhanging eaves; instead, domed churches could require spouts to carry the water far enough away from the wall to protect the masonry.

Early Byzantine spouts

The earliest water spouts in question have been found at the district of Saraçhane in Istanbul, where they appear to have been employed at the Church of St Polyeuktos. A series of five similar spouts at the Archaeological Museum Istanbul is said to have come from Saraçhane,² and two more spouts of the same description were actually found there, when Martin Harrison excavated St Polyeuktos.³ The precise reconstruction of the church is controversial, but it appears to have had vaults;⁴ down-pipes within some of the walls could have channelled rainwater off internally, but at the level of the roofline spouts would have been required instead.⁵

The spouts each consist of a long marble channel with a zoomorphic head. Several different animals are depicted: a lion with a curly mane and another with a combed one, two bulls, two boars and a goat. The animal heads are rendered naturalistically, with animated surfaces that are fully carved and finished. Each spout has been newly cut from an oblong, purpose-made block. An eighth spout in the shape of a boar's head is reused as a fountain head in the Venetian monastery of Ayia Napa on Cyprus (see plate 8). It appears to consist of Proconnesian marble, is similar to the boars from Saraçhane and was probably looted by the Venetians and brought to Cyprus in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade.⁶

The series from Saraçhane probably dates from the early Byzantine period, when marble was still newly quarried and the large purpose-made blocks could be supplied. The style of the carvings compares to spouts on early Byzantine water basins and fountains, as well as to other animal protomes on early Byzantine sarcophagi and capitals.⁷ The Saraçhane series may well date from 524–7, when St Polyeuktos was built.⁸ The church is a likely candidate for any innovation, as the architectural sculpture of the building was altogether novel, had a great impact on the Byzantine capital and beyond, and enriched the formal repertoire for centuries to come.⁹ Moreover, the novelty of St Polyeuktos apparently had an eastern, Sasanian origin, and the workshop may have involved Persian craftsmen.¹⁰

Zoomorphic protomes were especially prominent in Persian art, and the variety of animals on the spouts from Saraçhane is reflected in the repertoire of Sasanian sculpture.¹¹ This is demonstrated by a silver rhyton with a deer protome at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington, DC,¹² a gilded rhyton with two lion-headed spouts at Tehran¹³ or two lion-headed silver phalerae at the British Museum in London¹⁴ and in

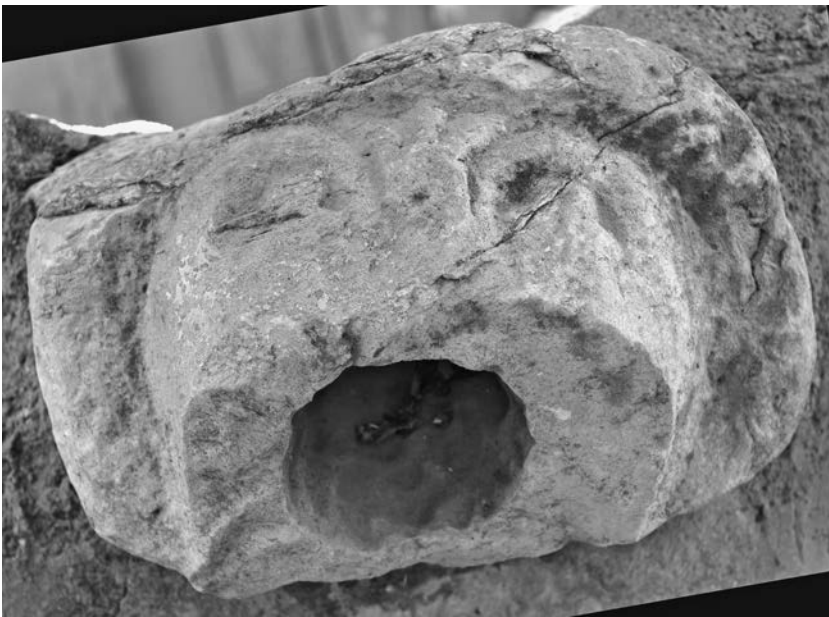


Fig 9.1. Goeleon/Kayakent near Germia in Galatia Salutaris, lion-headed water spout with channel.

Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

a private collection.¹⁵ The phalera at the British Museum has the same facial features including bared teeth, a snub nose and flattened ears, as some Byzantine lion spouts.¹⁶ A Sasanian stucco lion from Damghan in north-eastern Iran¹⁷ has the same finely combed mane as some spouts from Saraçhane.¹⁸

An early Byzantine date seems also plausible for a lion-headed limestone spout at Goeleon/Kayakent near Germia in Galatia Salutaris (fig. 9.1).¹⁹ This provincial product is of inferior quality, but the root of the lion's nose is still gravely wrinkled, as was common in antiquity.²⁰ It may be associated with the Church of St Michael at Germia. This church was at least partly vaulted in a second building phase that may date from the sixth century, and was certainly vaulted in a third building phase from the middle Byzantine period.²¹

Middle Byzantine spouts with channels

Other Byzantine water spouts with channels normally occur as single stray finds (figs. 9.2–9.7).²² They are typically found neither *in situ* on buildings nor in excavations, but in secondary contexts. They invariably depict lions that are rendered in a geometric and often crudely simplified fashion. In many cases a round body indicates that a spout has been recarved from an ancient column shaft (figs. 9.4–9.7). More often than not, this reuse seems also to have determined the geometric shape of the lion's head. Where the rear end of the channel is preserved, it is typically flattened and sometimes pierced by a central hole²³ or notch (figs. 9.5–9.7).

The relatively simple and geometric rendering of the lion heads probably points to the middle Byzantine period, when other lion carvings became similarly stylised²⁴ and other genres of Byzantine stone masonry developed in a parallel way.²⁵ This is confirmed by the formal variety of the spouts as well as by the reuse of column shafts: middle Byzantine capitals, templon slabs and epistyles are equally varied, and are often made from reused material, too.²⁶ Stone masonry came to be produced locally, after the closure of the large quarries and workshops that used to dominate and cause homogeneity in formal development during the early Byzantine period.²⁷ Moreover, the lack of excavated spouts corresponds with a lack of excavations at the sites of middle Byzantine churches that were big enough to support the large and heavy marble channels. Their find-spots in Anatolia and Greece rather than all over the Mediterranean also point to the medieval period after the seventh-century collapse of pan-Mediterranean rule.

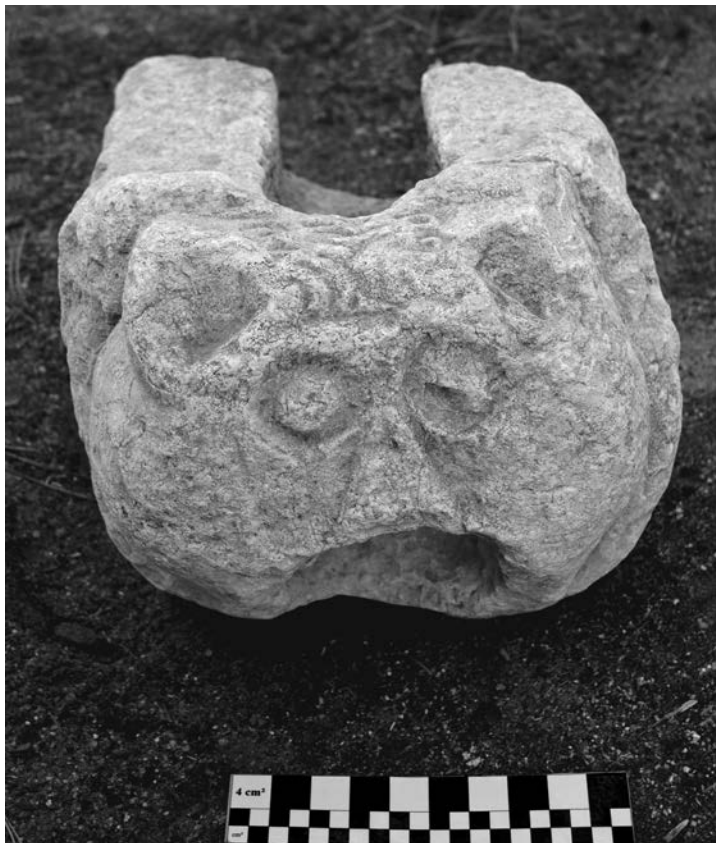


Fig 9.2. Goeleon/Kayakent near Germia in Galatia Salutaris, lion-headed water spout with channel.

Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

A middle Byzantine date for the stray finds from Anatolia is further corroborated by comparison with later Seljuk spouts. A fair number of the latter have survived *in situ* on various Turkish buildings, and they are distinguished by an extreme degree of geometric stylisation.²⁸ The lion head is reduced to a flat shield with a few geometric incisions that hides a vertical outlet. The workmanship is excellent, and the material appears to have been newly carved. Only a stray find from Spaleia/Sivrihisar in Galatia Salutaris that Gönül Öney lists among the Seljuk spouts has a rounded anatomically shaped head, a frontal outlet and a roughly hewn surface.²⁹ It should therefore be classed with Byzantine and not with Seljuk architecture.³⁰ It is closely comparable to another spout from Goeleon/Kayakent near Germia



Fig 9.3. Kellibara/Yediler Monastery on Mount Latmos in Caria, lion-headed water spout with channel.

Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

about 20 km south-east of Sivrihisar (fig. 9.2),³¹ where no Seljuk building is known but Byzantine artefacts abound.³²

By the same reasoning, a fragmented spout at the isolated Kellibara/Yediler Monastery on Mount Latmos in Caria should also be Byzantine (fig. 9.3).³³ In Nicaea/Iznik a large number of different spouts (figs. 9.4–9.7)³⁴ corresponds with an equally large number of ruined middle Byzantine churches,³⁵ whilst the many preserved buildings from the Islamic period do not employ zoomorphic spouts.³⁶

The formal repertoire of the middle Byzantine spouts with channels points to their use on buildings rather than on fountains: surviving lion-headed spouts from Byzantine water basins and fountains are smaller, are carved more delicately, sometimes include inscriptions, have no channels and date from the early Byzantine period.³⁷ In contrast, the crude carving of the middle Byzantine spouts seems to imply a distant viewer and corresponds well with a rooftop location. If the spouts were tilted downwards, as they would have been in order to allow for the necessary inclination of the channel, even the upper parts of the lion heads were visible from ground level. This incline would also explain why some spouts have a hole or notch at the rear end (fig. 9.7):³⁸ it would have served to secure them better against



Fig 9.4. Archaeological Museum Nicaea/Iznik, lion-headed water spout with channel.
Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

slipping down the gradient and falling off the wall. Limescale, which is to be found on some fountainheads, does not occur on the middle Byzantine spouts, which suggests they were exposed only to soft rainwater.

Moreover, a rooftop location can also explain the uncouth grimaces of many spouts. They were probably meant to invoke apotropaic magic and guard the buildings against evil spirits. Such magic was not uncommon in Byzantium,³⁹ and in the case of the spouts it continues the tradition of ancient *simas*, many of which are baring their teeth and seem to be snarling.⁴⁰ In the same manner, many lion protomes on doors are also baring their teeth as if fiercely guarding the entrance.⁴¹ In contrast, fountain lions are more often shown in a gentle mood, as befits the benevolent dispensation of water.⁴² Lion water spouts of any description were common in Byzantine churches,⁴³ with no apparent concern about any pagan associations.



Fig 9.5. Archaeological Museum Nicaea/Iznik, lion-headed water spout with channel. Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

The Tekfur Sarayı in Istanbul, a late Byzantine palace that may be identified with the House of Constantine, the third son of Michael VIII (1259–82),⁴⁴ was once guarded by animal protomes: four corbels that support balconies high up on the defensive south and east sides of the tower-like main palace building ended in animal heads, when Wilhelm Salzenberg saw them in the nineteenth century, and he was able to identify three of the heads as an eagle, a ram and a lion.⁴⁵ Salzenberg's description is confirmed by his contemporary Charles Texier, who made a drawing of the palace, on which one of the corbels is visible and has a zoomorphic head that looks like a lion.⁴⁶ Today, the corbels are badly eroded or gone and no protomes survive. Salzenberg suggests that they were more ancient than the palace and reused as spolia rather than newly cut in the late Byzantine period. Early Byzantine corbels with eagle, ram and lion heads have in fact been



Fig 9.6. Archaeological Museum Nicaea/Iznik, lion-headed water spout with channel.
Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.

found at various places in Istanbul.⁴⁷ The placement of such corbels on the defensive outer façades of the Tekfur Sarayı seems to indicate that in the late Byzantine period they were understood as apotropaic guardians.

Middle Byzantine *sima* spouts

The tenth-century cross-in-square Church of the Theotokos at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia employs a *sima* with lion-headed spouts on the tambour (fig. 9.8).⁴⁸ This is alien to the Byzantine tradition and was obviously copied from ancient examples. Zoomorphic water spouts have been in use since antiquity, but there are significant differences between the ancient tradition and the Byzantine spouts with channels. The



Fig 9.7. Archaeological Museum Nicaea/Iznik, lion-headed water spout with channel.
Photograph: Philipp Niewöhner.



Fig 9.8. Hosios Loukas, Theotokos, *sima* with lion-headed water spout, tenth century,
after L. Bouras 1980: fig. 43 (with permission).

ancient type is best known and documented in examples from the temple of Zeus at Olympia.⁴⁹ Its lion-headed spouts protrude from the *sima* and are carved from the same block, as was common practice in antiquity,⁵⁰ but not in Byzantine architecture.

The Theotokos church dates relatively early within the history of middle Byzantine architecture in Greece, and its so-called Athenian dome and tambour in particular seem to have been imitated by other Greek cross-in-square churches that were built soon after.⁵¹ The later tambours also copied the lion-headed spouts, but not the *sima*. This reduction, and the more stylised rendering of the facial features that was common in Byzantium but not in antiquity, confirm that the later spouts were copied as part of the decorative scheme of the Theotokos rather than directly from ancient *simae* with naturalistic lion heads.⁵² The Athenian tambour spouts form a group of their own. Most other spouts with channels seem too large for any middle Byzantine tambour,⁵³ including some larger spouts in Greece.⁵⁴

Water spouts at the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa

Three lion-headed water spouts at the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa are probably of Byzantine origin.⁵⁵ Two are placed on the west wall (figs. 9.9 and 9.10) and one above the gateway to an inner court (fig. 9.11). In their current low positions they do not serve as spouts but as decoration. Like the *sima* at the Theotokos of Hosios Loukas (fig. 9.8) the lion heads at Genoa are also carved from larger blocks, from which they protrude and that may have served as *sima*, albeit without moulding and bigger as at the Theotokos. One block (fig. 9.9) is inscribed MCCL+ (MCCLX), which denotes the year 1260 that is also commemorated in a building inscription over the gateway to the inner court of the Palazzo.

The Genoese spouts may be spolia from the Venetian palace at Constantinople, which the Genoese took over and demolished after the Byzantine reconquest of the city in 1261; the Genoese *Annales* of 1262 relate that parts of the Venetian palace were shipped to Genoa and reused to decorate the recently built Palazzo.⁵⁶ This seems to be confirmed by the lion head above the gateway to the inner court that partly obstructs the view of the building inscription above (fig. 9.11). Apparently, the lion was added as an afterthought and the obstruction may have been intentional, because the inscription attributes the foundation of the Palazzo to Simone Boccanegra, the controversial first doge of Genoa, who was deposed on 9 May 1262 just four days after the spolia had arrived from Constantinople.⁵⁷



Fig 9.9. Genoa, Palazzo di San Giorgio, west wall, lion-headed water spout, reused and inscribed MCCLX.

Photograph: Robert Nelson.



Fig 9.10. Genoa, Palazzo di San Giorgio, west wall, lion-headed water spout, reused.

Photograph: Rebecca Müller.

The spout may have been a convenient means of diverting attention from Boccanegra's name without taking down the inscription and making an explicit and potentially dangerous political statement.

The two marble lions on the west wall of the Palazzo (figs. 9.9 and 9.10) may originate from the Venetian palace building at Constantinople and go back to the Byzantine tradition of lion-headed water spouts. A lion head



Fig 9.11. Genoa, Palazzo di San Giorgio, gateway to the inner court, lion-headed water spout with two birds or harpies and two smaller beasts on top, reused.

Photograph: Rebecca Müller.

that was found at the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul and appears to consist of marble from neighbouring Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara has similar facial features with elaborately carved eyes and a moustache.⁵⁸ The spouts at Genoa may be original Byzantine carvings, if the Venetian palace was an older Byzantine building,⁵⁹ or if the Venetians decorated it with spolia, as they did at Ayia Napa on Cyprus (plate 8),⁶⁰ or as the Genoese did later at the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa. Alternatively, the Venetians may have employed Byzantine stonemasons, who would have reproduced their own formal repertoire. An analogous case is attested at the Arap Camii in Istanbul, formerly the Dominican church in Galata, where Byzantine painters reproduced a Latin iconography in a Byzantine style.⁶¹

The third lion-headed water spout above the gateway to the inner court of the Palazzo di San Giorgio (fig. 9.11) is markedly different from the

others: it lacks a neck, and the head and the mouth hardly protrude before the wall, which would have been exposed to the water. The lion also has a more vivid and naturalistic shape, and it is accompanied by other animals. The delicacy of the carving is reminiscent of late antique fountain heads in the shape of lion protomes,⁶² and the small accompanying animals imply a low position close to the viewer rather than high up at the roof line, where they would hardly have been visible. Two small beasts are sitting on the lion's head, and two birds or harpies with knotted tails bend down on either side and pick the lion's teeth or drink from the water that would have been gushing forth from its mouth. The lion suffers all this with paradisiacal patience rather than baring its teeth aggressively, as most roof lions do. All this indicates that the lion under discussion was probably not an apotropaic rainwater spout, but a benevolent fountain head.

This seems to be confirmed by comparison with a bronze aquamanile in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe at Hamburg.⁶³ Here also the benevolent dispensation of water is associated with a lion and with harpies or dragons; one beast crouches on the lion's back and forms the handle, two others are clinging to the lion's body and seem to be feeding from his mane. The figurine, which is attributable to the Baltic region and the twelfth or thirteenth century, continues a tradition that is best known from the Near East, for example on twelfth- and thirteenth-century door-knockers at Diyarbakır and Cizre, or in the twelfth-century Mush Homiliary,⁶⁴ and may have reached northern Europe indirectly via Arab Spain,⁶⁵ or via the formerly Byzantine provinces in southern Italy.⁶⁶

Similar dragons in gold form the handles of a late Byzantine chalice on Mount Athos, the so-called Iaspis of Vatopedi that belonged to Manuel Kantakouzenos of Mistras (1349–80) and can be attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop.⁶⁷ The same origin is also likely for the water spout at the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa: archaeometrical provenance analysis of the marble suggests that the material may have been quarried at Proconnesus in the vicinity of the Byzantine capital, but not at Carrara, where Genoa normally obtained its marble.⁶⁸

The pair of drinking birds counts among the most common paradisiacal motives in Byzantine stone carving, and their knotted tails indicate the middle Byzantine period, when iconography became ever more phantasmagorical and anything from columns via necks to tails could be knotted.⁶⁹ The birds may refer to the harpies that starved the blind king Phineus by snatching food off his mouth. The myth is illustrated in a middle Byzantine manuscript.⁷⁰ More often, harpies were depicted as birds with female heads,⁷¹ and some such creatures on middle Byzantine stone carvings may



Fig 9.12. Venice, San Marco, narthex, middle Byzantine capital with lion protomes and flanking birds, from Constantinople.

Photograph: DAI Rome (D-DAI-ROM-66.332).

possibly be identified as harpies.⁷² The high relief of the carving at Genoa points to some of the best workshops of middle Byzantine Constantinople that also produced capitals and imposts with lion protomes and flanking birds as well as with other, smaller beasts similar to those on the lion's head (figs. 9.12–9.13).⁷³ Depictions and descriptions of lion-headed fountains in middle and late Byzantine churches and manuscripts confirm that the motif remained in use throughout the Byzantine period.⁷⁴

As a result, the third lion head above the gateway to the inner court should also be considered spolia from the Venetian palace in Constantinople, which was most likely an older middle Byzantine building.⁷⁵ Moreover, the different form of the third lion that apparently corresponds with a different function as fountain head confirms in reverse that all other spouts under discussion should indeed have been employed at the roof line for the drainage of rainwater.

In conclusion, Byzantine architecture appears to have revived the ancient tradition of lion-headed rainwater spouts from the sixth century onwards for the drainage of domed churches. The earliest example, the sixth-century



Fig 9.13. Istanbul, Topkapı gate, middle Byzantine impostes with lion protomes and smaller hunting beasts with lion heads, wings and tails.

Photograph: DAI Istanbul (D-DAI-ISTANBUL-R34621).

church of St Polyeuktos at Constantinople, includes other animals apart from lions, and this may be a Sasanian influence. The ancient tradition may have reached Byzantium indirectly via Sasanian architecture, and the Byzantine spouts are constructed differently, forming the mouth pieces of long water channels that would have protruded beyond the roofline. A direct copy of the ancient tradition, whereby the lion heads were of a part with the roof line or *sima*, is attested only once in the case of the tenth-century Church of the Theotokos at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas.

Notes

- 1 I am indebted to Charalambos Bouras, David Knipp, Jens Kröger, Rebecca Müller, Robert Nelson, Tassos Papacostas, Urs Peschlow, Jean-Pierre Sodini and Fabian Stroth for generous help with the spouts at Ayia Napa, the reference to Sasanian art, the *sima* spout at Hosios Loukas, the three water spouts at Genoa, and a spout at Istanbul.
- 2 Firatlı 1990: 214, cat. 502–6, pl. 128.
- 3 Harrison 1986: 161, cat. 20 a 1, 2, fig. G, pls. 234–5.
- 4 Harrison 1986: 406–11; Harrison 1989: 126–36; Toivanen 2003–4; Bardill 2011.
- 5 Cf. Harrison 1986: 410, 413–14.
- 6 Pralong 1990: 239; Papacostas 2010: 150–2.
- 7 Willemsen 1959: pl. 122 (S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, lion-headed protome on the lid of the Theodorus sarcophagus; basilica A at Nea Anchialos, lion-headed protomes on capitals); Dirimtekin 1962: 181, 173, fig. 19 (water basin with lion-headed spout); Firatlı 1990: 174, cat. 350–1, pl. 105 (lion-headed spouts, one with early Byzantine inscription); 175, cat. 356, pl. 106 (water basin with lion-headed spouts). For the earlier Roman tradition, cf. Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001: 87–90.
- 8 Mango and Ševčenko 1961; Harrison 1986: 111.
- 9 Strube 1984.

- 10 Strube 1984: 110; Russo 2004; Barsanti 2007.
- 11 Many of the Sasanian comparanda in this paragraph are owed to Jens Kröger, whom I would like to thank for his generous help and advice.
- 12 Inv. S1987.33: Kondoleon 2000: 136, cat. 23.
- 13 National Museum inv. 2500: Seipel 2000: 287–90, cat. 158.
- 14 Inv. 134358: Kent and Painter 1977: 155, cat. 325.
- 15 O. Grabar 1967: 129, cat. 46.
- 16 Cf. L. Bouras 1980: spout, *in situ* (after L. Mp 45, fig. 80, Archaeological Museum Bursa).
- 17 Kröger 1982: pl. 90, 1.
- 18 Compare also a lion head from Saraçhane: Fıratlı 1990: 214, cat. 506, pl. 128.
- 19 H. 20, L. preserved 52 (head 12), W. 32 cm. Snout and right ear broken; cracked; reddish patina.
- 20 Willemsen 1959: *passim*; Mertens-Horn 1988: *passim*.
- 21 Niewöhner 2013.
- 22 For more Anatolian spouts see Niewöhner 2014 as well as Conze 1913: 320 cat. A (at lower agora in Pergamon: H. 28, L. 88, W. 31 cm); L. Bouras 1980: 45, fig. 80–3 (two spouts in the Archaeological Museum Bursa); Fıratlı 1990: 174–5, cat. 352 (from Rumeli Hisar, marble: W. 42, L. preserved 177 cm), 353 (marble: H. 27, L. preserved 93, W. 27 cm), 354 (from Tuzla, marble: H. 20, L. preserved 37, W. 25 cm), 355 (from the excavation of a church at Dolayoba near Pendik, marble, reused column shaft: H. 17, L. preserved 24 cm), pl. 105; Ötügen 1996: 246, cat. BM 27, pl. 43, 3 (Babasultan near Bursa: H. 20, L. preserved 31 cm); cat. Ke 5, pl. 43, 4 (Kıranışıklar, Şahan Baba Türbesi, since 1983 in the Archaeological Museum Bursa, marble); Pralong 2003: 234, cat. 5 (between Hersek and Altınova, marble: H. 25, L. preserved 33, W. 28 cm); Ödekan 2007: 251 (Archaeological Museum Manisa, limestone: H. 33, L. preserved? 16, W. 35 cm). For Greek spouts see: Orlandos 1939–40: 141; L. Bouras 1980: 43, fig. 74, 75 (Archaeological Museum Thebes; H. 20, L. 72, W. 25 cm); Niewöhner 2014; L. Bouras 1980: 43–4, fig. 76 (Koimesis in Mesathouri on Andros); 44, fig. 77, 78 (Metropolis at Mystras); 44, fig. 79 (Museum Mystras); Niewöhner 2014: 83, fig. 13 (Archaeological Museum Chalkis: H. 30, L. preserved 36, W. preserved 11 cm). Cf. Vasiliev 1973: 496, n. 24, pl. 18 (Avradak monastery near Preslav, today in the Archaeological Museum Preslav, limestone: H. ca. 30, W. ca. 20 cm); L. Bouras 1980: 45. A ‘rude grotesque gargoyle [...] lion’s head [...], open-mouthed, jagged toothed, flat-nosed with staring eyes childishly executed’ in the Archaeological Museum at Sparta is therefore hardly ‘the one piece of Frankish sculpture in the Museum’, but is more likely to be of Byzantine workmanship: Tod and Wace 1906: 131, 168, cat. 327 (H. 20, L. 47 cm). Corbels with zoomorphic decoration at the Pangia Vlachernon of Elis on the Peloponnese may have been carved when that church was apparently finished under Frankish influence in the early thirteenth century: Bon 1969: 561–74, pl. 25a, 28b; Melvani 2013: 118, fig. 103.
- 23 Harrison 1986: fig. G 22j(vi).

- 24 For examples see A. Grabar 1976: pl. 69 a; Fıratlı 1990: cat. 166, 237, 323–5, 333.
- 25 Sodini 2008.
- 26 See above n. 25 and below n. 27.
- 27 Dennert 1997: 169–74; Niewöhner 2008: 292–6.
- 28 Öney 1969.
- 29 Öney 1969: pl. 16, fig. 28a, b.
- 30 L. Bouras 1980, 45.
- 31 Limestone: H. 25, L. preserved 40 (head 15), W. 32 cm. Snout and back end of channel broken.
- 32 Niewöhner 2013.
- 33 White marble: H. c.25, L. preserved c.40, W. c.30 cm. Head and end of channel broken off. For the monastery see Peschlow 1995: cols. 673–9; Peschlow 1996: 71–4; Peschlow 2005: 182–5.
- 34 Barsanti 2003: 294, fig. 87 a, b; Ödekan 2007: 241.
- 35 Peschlow 2003; Niewöhner 2010a.
- 36 Aslanapa 2003.
- 37 See above n. 7 and compare a lion-headed fountain in the mosaic of the Great Palace Peristyle at Constantinople: Rice 1958: 123, pl. 44A. For more ancient fountains with lion-headed spouts see Dunkley 1935–6.
- 38 See above n. 23.
- 39 Nesbitt 2003; Maguire and Maguire 2007: 58–96.
- 40 See below nn. 50 and 51.
- 41 Iacobini 2009 : *passim*.
- 42 See above n. 7. In addition, the lions may have been seen to guard the fountains: Mertens-Horn 1988: 17–18 (bibliography).
- 43 For example the atrium of St Sophia at Constantinople: Diegesis 26, for an English translation see Mango 1972: 100; cf. Broilo 2009; the mosaic scene of the Annunciation to St Anne at the Chora Monastery/Kariye Camii in Istanbul: Underwood 1966–75: vol. II, 93, fig. 85 (see plate 4 in this volume); Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: 106–10, fig. 2; a fresco of St Gregory of Nazianzus in the south-east chapel of the Apheniko at Mistra: Millet 1910: pl. 109; the Annunciation at Perachorio on Cyprus: H. Maguire 1981: 47, fig. 34; the Great Lavra monastery on Mount Athos: L. Bouras 1977: fig. 3 (see plate 6 in this volume); the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara and elsewhere in Christian Egypt: Falk 1996: 111–12, no. 57; Wessel 1963: 22, 26, fig. 23; Bénazeth 2000: 39, no. 3; the Vatican Octateuch (Vat. gr. 746), fol. 473v: Evans and Wixom 1997: 192; the Martyrium with the cenotaph of Sts Florus and Laurus: Pietsch 2010: 108–9, no. 48; the Annunciation to St Anne at St Sophia in Kiev: Gavrilović 2010: 214, fig. 15.
- 44 Mango 1965: 334–6; Niewöhner 2010b: 232–5.
- 45 Salzenberg 1854: 128.
- 46 Mango 1965: 332–4, fig. 22 (drawing by Charles Texier, c.1833).
- 47 Fıratlı 1990: 129–32, cat. 251–2, 256–8, pl. 80–1.

- 48 L. Bouras 1980: 37–9, fig. 36–47.
- 49 Willemsen 1959.
- 50 Mertens-Horn 1988.
- 51 L. Bouras 1980: 39–43, fig. 55, 59, 60 (Agioi Theodoroi at Athens); 56, 61, 62, 3 (Kapnikarea at Athens); 63 (Agia Panagia in the Library of Hadrian at Athens, today in the Byzantine Museum); 64–5 (Archaeological Museum Athens); 57–8, 67–73 (four churches in Mesa Mani). See also C. Bouras 2002: 261, fig. 299; 407, 410, fig. 435 (Agios Nikolaos east of Ochia on Mani); 407, 410, fig. 436 (Agia Panagia near Stavri on Mani, known as Episkopi).
- 52 L. Bouras 1980: 46–8.
- 53 Even the large tambour of the catholicon at the Nea Mone on Chios (eleventh century) could only just support light-weight spouts without decoration that must have been placed at the springing of the dome, as the walls of the tambour itself were not thick enough: C. Bouras 1981: 110, 116–17, fig. 97–100.
- 54 See above n. 22.
- 55 Müller 2002: 72–3, 86–7, 212–19, fig. 43–6.
- 56 Müller 2002: 72–3, 86–7, 212–19.
- 57 Cavallaro 1992: 31.
- 58 Fıratlı 1990: 176, cat. 359, pl. 106; also published by Tezcan 1989: 386, fig. 564.
- 59 Kidonopoulos 1994: 32–3, n. 370; cf. the review by Berger 1997b.
- 60 See above n. 6.
- 61 Cetinkaya, Radt and Westphalen 2007; Westphalen 2008; Cetinkaya 2010; Akyürek 2011.
- 62 See above n. 7.
- 63 Falke and Meyer 1935: cat. 372.
- 64 Kuehn 2011: 80–1, 122, pl. 18, fig. 82–3; pl. 73, fig. 133–4.
- 65 Bargebuhr 1956; Bargebuhr 1968.
- 66 Contadini 2002.
- 67 Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998: 475–7 fig. 420–5; Spier 2013: 52 fig. 27. More generally on beasts in connection with the dispensation of water cf. L. Bouras 1977.
- 68 Ferrando Cabona 1998: 71.
- 69 General: Maguire and Maguire 2007. Columns: Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985; Altripp 2006: 11–13; Mert and Niewöhner 2010: 381–4. Necks and tails: A. Grabar 1963: pl. 40, 2; A. Grabar 1976: pl. 49 b, 50 a, 52 a, 87, 126 a; Fıratlı 1990: 89, 136, cat. 167, 268, pl. 53, 84.
- 70 Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, codex gr. 749, fol. 39r.: Weitzmann 1951: 125–7, pl. 41, 147.
- 71 As is attested from the Roman period onwards: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 4 (Munich, 1988), 446, cat. 5.
- 72 A. Grabar 1976: pl. 40a, 82b, 89b. A two-legged bird's body distinguishes them from the more common sphinx, and a human head sets them apart from the semurg, but outside any narrative context they could also be understood as sirens. Where the creatures in question are accompanied by lions and/or sphinxes, an

interpretation as sirens seems more likely, as the latter were traditionally paired with lions and sphinxes already in antiquity: see *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 8 (Munich, 1997), 1097–8. For late antique Christian references to and illustrations of sirens see Salmen 1980: 393–4.

- 73 Capitals: Deichmann 1981: 57–8, 61–2, cat. 180–1, 184–5, 198–9, 202–3, pl. 10–2; Dennert 1997: 153–64, cat. 334–6, 341, 344, 347–8. For other high-quality carvings of the period see Peschlow 2010. Imposts: Ebersolt 1911: 15, pl. 12, fig. 19; Meyer-Plath and Schneider 1943: 151, no. 1, pl. 65, 1; Asutay-Effenberger 2007: 185, cat. K-17–8, fig. 204.

- 74 See above n. 44.

- 75 The Byzantine origin also explains the lack of medieval Western analogies for the three lion heads at Genoa: Müller 2002: 212–19 (bibliography). Western gargoyles that became a common feature of Gothic architecture from the thirteenth century onwards seem to have been inspired by Western medieval legendary creatures rather than by the more sombre tradition of ancient lion heads: Bridaham 1969; Klingender 1971; Sheridan 1975; Miyazaki 1999 (bibliography); Camille 2009.

10 | Spouts and finials defining fountains by giving water shape and sound

EUNICE DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE

Fountains installed in baths, or enclosed in courtyards, gardens, or other outdoor spaces, introduce focal points of attention. Shining and sounding, they dignify and elevate whatever ritual or luxury the water served in a given location. Although late antique and Byzantine fountains no longer play, mosaics and paintings of operative fountains show the assembled structures as well as the trajectories of spouting and falling water, as if to communicate its sound. Such images pose challenges of interpretation to set against the rare surviving fragments. Each fountain with its single or multiple spouts, finials and basins was a unique feat of water engineering, an orchestration of stasis and flow in relation to shapes, sizes and levels of height. Yet scholars, looking back, have paid as little attention to the shape of the water in fountains as they have to its sound. This chapter therefore explores Byzantine fountains by means of three or four themes related to the nature of the spouts: the shaping of water; the water's sounds – and the question of whether water was sometimes accompanied by the fragrance of incense; and lastly the further treatment of spouts, finials and basins as sculptural entities.

The persistence of details evoking water sounds springs from connotations of bounty and prosperity in pouring and sprinkling, as in the weighing of grain, spices or incense, the pouring of wine, oil or coins, or the sprinkling of honorific rose-blossoms underfoot, which are all sounds and signs of power and luxury. But fountains, transcending the material liquid they present, can offer spiritual or magical meanings, including a parallel with the distribution of exhalations or fragrance. In visual depictions, as in Byzantine texts, fountains, being experienced through multiple senses, mark an interface between the representation of solid material features designed to display or deliver water and the reification of understandings and associations that remain elusive, immaterial and numinous.

In early metaphors of the paradisaical rivers and of salvific water offered by the church the waters may be held in goblets or chalice-like cups or in vases shaped like a cantharus or a krater; they may run out of rocks or shells, or even spill from a cornucopia. Into and beyond the Komnenian period ancient, even Dionysian formal metaphors such as the lion-head

spouts and sprinkling pine-cone finials continue to supply fountains in the Byzantine church. The possibility of bird spouts and the shapes given to still or moving water could be significant; for instance a column of water rising, like a bird in flight, could be seen as a material oxymoron, as much a manifestation of power as the delivery of water from a great height or a hidden source. Supply-pipes, essential to fountains in any public or private location, could be either concealed or revealed and crowned with a finial.¹ Many fountain images suggest a complex music including the peaceful sound of liquid drops falling into the depths of the basins or troughs controlling the water's spread. While fountain spouts sculpted the shapes of the water passing through them, and tuned its sounds, the spouts themselves were often sculptural objects evoking their own repertory of associated images or principles deeply rooted in the pre-Christian past, enjoyed in secular life and in dialogue with designs developed by Islamic or Latin neighbours.

While there is little evidence that the Roman taste for a menagerie of zoomorphic spouts continued in the early Byzantine period, the presence of a bird would be in keeping with an ancient motif of birds attracted to a basin of water; and something new appears to happen, if only in the imagination of artists, when the waterspout, or a shaped jet of water, and the bird are joined in an image expressing the water's movement as well as its sound.

Water spouting through the beak of a bird in certain medieval Byzantine fountains bears witness to the continuing importance of sound in the enjoyment of fountains, making any water issuing from a bird's beak a liquid utterance. The lion's head and the bird, then, like the pine-cone, as metaphors that glorify different kinds of water noise, parallel the Byzantine pleasure that kept Greek rhetoric alive. All these spout-shapes may spring from observing nature, or water, in relation to ancient models.

Certain pine-cones yield, as seeds, a delicacy still prized in Italian recipes; while the taste for resinous wines in Greece, if it descends from the use of pine-pitch for the waterproofing of wineskins, may explain the pine-cone form of the terminal on a Dionysian thyrsus. A sound of sprinkling observable in nature seems to justify the function of pine-cone fountain finials. When a conifer seeds itself the expanded scales of its cones pop open, warmed by the sun, and the seeds sprinkle, hissing or pattering as they slide and fall down the cone and through the tree. A pine-cone pattern on a silk textile attributed to Egypt in the period when its Byzantine culture was still strong stylises this spouting or sprinkling as little scrolled lines shooting out from the pine-cone, as water spurts from a pine-cone finial or fountain.² The luxurious identity of the textile, and the upward orientation



Fig 10.1. Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, author portrait, Sinai MS gr. 339 fol. 4v. (with permission).

of the isolated cone, without a tree, suggest that this repeated motif represents a fountain.

In built environments the sound of sprinkling had its own connotations of luxury. Visitors to the Great baths of Antioch could tread on unfading

rosebuds sprinkled in a mosaic floor dated 337–8; even in an imagined garden where Aphrodite and Adonis sit in a sixth-century Byzantine floor mosaic, rosebuds have been sprinkled at their feet.³ Liquid rosewater was sprinkled through bottles with specially constricted necks. The contrast between pine-cone-sprinkling of water-jets from small multiple openings and the more concentrated pouring of a flow from the mouth of lion-head spouts is therefore a contrast of distinctive sounds and functions. Lion-head spouts in antiquity carried the run-off of rains from the roofs of monumental buildings, roaring with the water's force as the lion heads diverted the flow to protect the structure from potential damage.⁴ The distinction holds, with few exceptions, through the Byzantine centuries.

Byzantine texts are rich in fountain images; a few are descriptions, but many more are metaphorical allusions. As a touchstone each of the following discussion sections offers comments from Gregory Nazianzus, linking his early Byzantine thinking with a medieval Byzantine response, and confirming the appropriateness of the famous depiction of Gregory writing next to a courtyard with two flowing fountains, in the twelfth-century Sinai manuscript of his homilies (fig. 10.1).⁵

Water shapes

Since water takes visible shape from vessels holding it, early images of water vessels reveal much about the Byzantine understanding of fountains. The goblet Tigris raises in a church floor mosaic in Justinianic Theodorias in Cyrenaica (now Qasr el-Lebia, the East Church) is clear glass, a prized commodity, displaying the water inside. In his mosaic depiction on a church pavement at Tegea, Tigris offers his water in a chalice-sized fountain with two streams rising, forked, from a central spout and flowing into the rippling cupful below, just as a cantharus or krater-shaped fountain, in a domestic mosaic in Antioch, and in the north and south wall mosaics of the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, set on the ground, sends up a double jet of water that falls into the vase and then runs, overflowing, from its rim.⁶ The krater commonly chosen as a Byzantine fountain vessel was originally used for mixing festive wine with water; scaled down as a two-handled drinking vessel, the wide-mouthed shape became a cantharus, an attribute of Dionysus. A cornucopia is an early, but rare, alternative.⁷ In a mosaic from Antioch/Daphne a figure personifying the river Ladon holds an upright cornucopia, sending up a conical water-jet, while a vertical cornucopia on its

own, bubbling with water instead of fruit, sends down its ordered and contained abundance in a long, chain-like stream at either side, in one of the Rabbula Gospels canon tables. In a mosaic image from the Church of the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike, the central cone-shaped spout shoots twin streams beyond an overflowing marble basin set above a rock with two flowing circular outlets in front. Above and beside this complex fountain were scrolls of lush foliage, and peaceful animals. Gregory Nazianzus refers to God's command restraining destructive waters as 'the chain of fluid nature', an image of unbroken security and plenty.⁸ But the transfer of ancient pagan formulas to Christian Byzantium, not only in the church, but also in the honouring of terrestrial waters, did not please Gregory. Pointing out that God supplies natural water above and below the roots of plants, he implicitly mocks the cosmic allegorical connection between fountains and wine-containers, belittling the endeavour 'to measure the sea in a wineglass, and such mighty works' by human 'conceptions'.⁹

The flowing rock in the Acheiropoietos mosaic reflects fountains that poured from hidden spouts so that nothing made by human hands could be seen to control the flow. A mosaic pavement excavated in Carthage depicts four tapering skeins or loose ropes of water streaming through large circular openings in a shell-shaped structure, and labels them 'Fontes'.¹⁰ The pair of deer lowering themselves to drink identify these fountains as the living waters of the psalm telling of the soul thirsting, like a deer, for God; hence the streams are also the four rivers of paradise. Those rivers are frequently shown as four such streams gushing from the rimless circular mouths of invisible pipes, in a rock, dividing the water into 'four heads', as Gregory describes the source of the four rivers in Eden, 'by which the world is watered'.¹¹

The unusual shell holding the four pierced circular heads or outlets in the Carthage mosaic cannot be closely examined for detail in the present location and condition of the mosaic; it may reflect a *nymphaeum* wall fountain's sculptural basin. Better-documented by surviving sculpture is the conceit hiding circular outlets for pipes in a more or less free-standing and quasi-natural rock; Gregory in the same passage implies that water is best when it can be commanded, like the water Moses brought 'out of the rock', in a compromise between nature and seemingly miraculous engineering. On one such rock, in a marble sculpture from first-century Rome, sits a boy, a so-called Spinario; on a second, from second-century Antioch, sits another thorn-puller; but his overturned jar concealed the water pipe.¹² The small-scale sculpture intensified the trickles into seemingly greater flows, in twin streams under the boy from Rome.

From a hidden spout a mound of water flows at the mouth of a vase in relief on a Classe sarcophagus and its look-alike in Ravenna.¹³ The liquid mountain flanked by peacocks raised on plinths to drink seems here to merge two themes: the holy fountain and the holy hill. As in most fountain images, the vase, a krater, is central. Without any visible pipe, it seems to be receiving the water rather than spouting it, the flow coming down abundantly from a wall-spout under a Christogram, concealing its outlet as it gushes into the vase. The façade of shell niches on columns framing this central fountain for the whole length of the sarcophagus, and the patterning of the vaulted lid with raised imbrications like roof tiles, together point to an architectural *nymphaeum* as the ultimate model for the design.

Architectural variations of fountains in which the water issues from a hidden source also appear in Byzantine or Umayyad mosaic vignettes, continuing the precedent of crossovers between secular and sacred settings. On the mosaic floor of the Great Palace peristyle in Constantinople two such streams of water pour from invisible spouts within the dark interior of arched openings in a building fronting onto a cistern or walled-off pool, perhaps a modified natural body of water, into which the pouring water spills.¹⁴ Water pours into water again from invisible spouts in the courtyard mosaic of the Great Mosque of Damascus, on the west wall.¹⁵ In one instance, twin streams run out under a shallow arc at the façade base of an imaginary waterfront structure, merging with a greater flow of horizontal water; in a similar vignette, there are four streams, like the rivers of paradise, although the one at the far right has been greatly foreshortened. Whether two or four, the streams are aligned as fountain elements with the façade: they emerge directly beneath a columnar two-storey central façade crowned, like a *nymphaeum*, with a shell niche. A bird finial, in silhouette, appears as a sculptural feature inside at least one of these pavilions. In a third vignette, two streams pour out of a walled pool or cistern under a tower, in a complex not unlike the picturesque rustic architecture of the Great Palace vignette. Whatever the water's aesthetic or practical function, these scenes, like fountains, display the power and luxury of water brought into built spaces to flow out again.

In later Byzantine representations spouts are not concealed. At Daphni in the eleventh-century mosaic scene of the Annunciation to Anna a free-standing garden fountain offers a self-contained, but also highly complex display. It shapes the water it holds and distributes, in five different ways (see plate 3).¹⁶ Accessible water rests at ground level in a trough, at the bottom of a three-tier series of basins: a stone reservoir decorated in relief like a miniature early Byzantine sarcophagus. Without a visible outlet, the trough

sinks into the earth against the base of the fountain's two upper tiers; in the middle tier a deep quatrefoil basin rests on a support that spouts water into this tank. At the next tier an upper basin or *phiale* appears to rest balanced on a cylinder enclosing the supply pipe. Above the *phiale* the pipe extends into the air. There, closer to the birds in the trees, four thin streams of water spurt from a pine-cone finial, shooting out and shaping bright arcs as they turn to fall towards the rims of the two upper basins, where they would splash into drops and spills. The water at the upper level fills the round bowl of the circular cup or raised *phiale* under the pine-cone; at this level two streams overflow towards the rim of the larger basin below; and as in most fountains featuring pine-cone finials, the slender pipe rises like the shaft of a thyrsus, partly seen though the basin's water, holding the pine-cone spout.¹⁷

In the large middle tier, a quatrefoil basin displays in dual perspective the water's ribbed and rippling surface. A shaft projects from the basin's complex support, distinguished from the rest by rosy colour, and by being hollowed out to supply water to the pipe feeding the flowing pine-cone. Water either rising or draining through the shaft also runs down to the trough below, out of a circular opening in the pink marble marked by a simple ring-shaped rim in relief. From this outlet the water falls straight down, pouring in a thick ropelike stream that unravels and spreads into a small triangle as it meets resistance in the small tank's reservoir. The collected water ripples in response. The water pools at three levels, from three levels of flow or overflow. The middle tier conspicuously links these displays of running and agitated water as if to suggest the fountain's murmuring in concert with the speaking angel just above.

High central spouts display the water changing direction from spurting to falling, introducing a temporal dimension through shape. In an Athos lectionary manuscript, late eleventh or twelfth century, a finial's tightly angular jets rise to gravitational nodes, as if to emphasise the sharpness of their fall (fig. 10.2).¹⁸ Like Gregory's concept of gaze, flow and temporality in the Trinity, with Christ as fountain, the streams plunge into the vase where their water rests enlivened in a cup like one mounted as a eucharistic chalice in the tenth or eleventh century to celebrate the sacrament that promises eternal life.¹⁹ Glazed pottery, popular as tableware, also offers fountain imagery, including a marbleised cup of quatrefoil shape, like the Daphni fountain basin; a two-handled drinking bowl spotted with dots of slip, like the scales of a pine-cone; and an inscribed plate presenting an unusual fountain scene. On the plate a pair of cheetahs, collared but displaying their non-retractable claws as well as their teeth, face the shaft rising from a cylindrical basin, like a well-head,

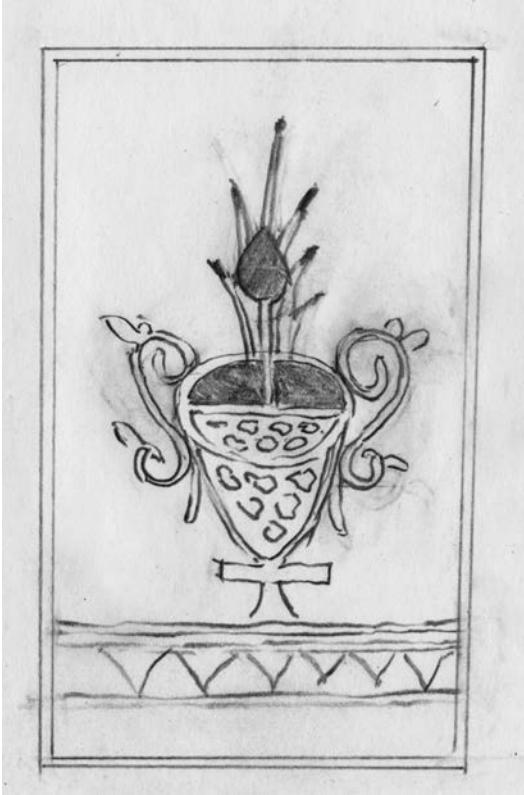


Fig 10.2. Lectionary, Athos, Iviron Cod. 1404, fol. 333, detail from upper margin, drawn by Peter Wheeler after Kadas 1997.

filled and overflowing with cross-hatched water. The shaft is topped, not by a pine-cone, but by a fan-shaped tree-crown sheltering doves, or similarly peaceful birds. Some of the inscription is missing. A small cross remains, and two monograms, one of them hatched over. The inscription, deserving of further study, appears to speak for the understanding of fountains as blessings endowed with protective power; birds and 'leopards' are among the animated spouts mentioned in the popular ninth-century description of Hagia Sophia's ablution fountain in Constantinople.²⁰

Water sounds

The sound was part of the fountain's message.²¹ For Paul the Silentiary the atrium fountain centred before Justinian's Church of Hagia Sophia burbled, sending up an apotropaic stream. It leapt 'into the air' above its marble

basin, through a brassy pipe, to drive 'away all suffering'. The sound must have been especially dramatic in the dark, when people gathered there for the Epiphany ceremony Paul describes.

The music of Anna's fountain at Daphni grew from each level's rhythms and pitches, rising or falling, and splashing or drumming in the dimension of time, transient sounds, varying from moment to moment. A musical fountain scene painted in the Parma Gospel Book gives instrumental expression to the fountain's sonic complexity, as opposed to the sweet, smooth *a capella* singing John Geometres hears in the naturally-pouring streams of the Aretai garden in Constantinople, and in the accompanying vocalisation of animals drawn to the garden.²² The Parma miniature personifies the fountain's sounds with timeless mythical creatures facing the fountain's sides: a centaur playing the splashes on cymbals, and a siren making the softer sounds of the running and rippling water with her lyre.

Sprinkling greeted the Emperor Julian, arriving at a temple in Gaul, where a priest shook wet branches over him as he entered; as a quiet gesture of blessing, it continues today in Orthodox and other churches.²³ In fountains, the sound of water-drops sprinkling into water evokes a sense of peace and refreshment, as in the caldaria of Roman baths, and in another Carthage mosaic at the British Museum.²⁴ Two domesticated gazelles, stand-ins for deer, bathe at a two-tier fountain. Amulets hang from their necks, one of them bell-shaped, the other possibly distorted by moving the mosaic.

This scene's fountain would have sprinkled audibly. Its vase-shape, a krater or cantharus, was not originally either for pouring or for sprinkling; only Dionysus pours from a cantharus, and then only into a feline mouth, and although similarly silvery fountain-like vases of krater shape stand on the architectural frame of a Dionysian Drinking Contest mosaic scene from Antioch, complete with golden thyrsos rising out of them like spouts, they do not sprinkle.²⁵ The 'deer' in the Carthage mosaic, however, enjoy the gentle splash of falling droplets on their faces; one lifted foreleg inserts itself into this rain above the lower basin. Rosebuds grow beside the fountain, while above, gallinules, Nilotic birds associated with calm water, fill the space. The sprinkled stream issues from a vertical pipe without a finial, and splits to shower the two animals. This sprinkling of faces and, for want of hands, a foreleg, depicts the washing Christians practised at the atrium fountain of a church before entering the sanctuary, according to John Chrysostom and Paulinus of Nola.²⁶ A fountain like this would have welcomed users with its pattering musical pitches as the water splashed into the metallic-looking upper jar, spilling into the receiving trough below. From a North African synagogue, a sixth-century

mosaic pavement from Hamman Lif with a similar vase, recorded in a watercolour drawing, also offers a paradisaal fountain scene implying the sound of showering individual streams.²⁷ They rise between peacocks, as multiple jets.

The sound of the Hellenistic lion spout in antiquity, a gentle roar, announced water's presence and force, while the spout made the water harmless to buildings, or useful in water-dispensing fountains. For Christian religious life Gregory of Nazianzus finds the roaring of wild water competitive to worship. Refusing to join Basil at his Pontic retreat, he complains that there 'the river rushes roaring down, ... great and terrible, and overwhelms the psalmody of those who live above it'.²⁸

In Roman as well as in Byzantine fountains, and among the medieval empire's Islamic and Latin neighbours, the sound of water pouring was often voiced in visual presentations.²⁹ The structure of fountains as well as surviving bronze fountain sculpture from Pompeii and Herculaneum bear witness that water not only poured and sprinkled and dripped; it could also expressively hiss and roar and splash; or babble and murmur speech or song. Stone lion-head spouts at Manisa and Iznik, sharing a number of stylistic features with leonine incense burners from Seljuq Iran, have lost their original medieval settings, while a lion fountain is described by Ibn Gabirol, a Hebrew poet in eleventh-century Grenada. The Manisa lion, deeply projecting from a block only 33 cm high, parts his flattened jaws just enough to let water through, snarling. The almost spherical Iznik head terminates an open channel, nearly a metre long, with a circular outlet between bared teeth in relief, roaring or growling. Ibn Gabirol's poem raises the possibility that fountain sculptures could emit both sounding water and silent fragrance, rising from burning incense.³⁰ A standing copper-alloy lion, as a Seljuq work of 1181, witnesses the medieval Islamic appreciation of zoomorphic incense burners. It has a removable head inside which the incense burned, surrounding the animal with fragrant breath.³¹

The water-dispensing lions in Ibn Gabirol's poem, if they reflect actual fountain animals that did spout fragrant smoke as well as water, were probably likewise made of cast metal. Translations of the poem variously mention their roaring and spouting water into channels between sunken planting beds that the water irrigates; one translation continues, 'and they scatter balsamic perfumes/smelling just like the scent of the myrtles and the incense'.³² The fourteenth-century channels in the Alhambra Lions' Court were fed at both ends, by the central lions, reused from the eleventh-century, and by spouts at the court's periphery.

Extending the lion-head's sounds, Anna Komnena describes lion-headed naval weapons spewing Greek fire; zoomorphic incense-burners exhaling fragrance were the harmless domestic cousins of those lions.³³ And presiding over the fumes dispensed by the five-domed perfume burner in Venice, a lion head projects over the doorpost, like the lion spouts over Vitruvian Ionic columns, under a roof segment of pierced pine-cone-like imbrications.³⁴ The two guarding or welcoming personifications on the door valves below are male and female, Andreia or Strength, armed, and Phronesis, or Prudence, pointing to her bared head. They are not saints.³⁵ A dado frieze of relief panels, equally secular in its imagery includes lions and griffins and half-human animals as well as the naked lower half of a child entering an overturned basket. This ludicrous motif has a tongue-in-cheek Byzantine history of association with a Dionysus disarmed of his thyrsus, reclining on a chariot-couch on the carved tenth-century ivory of the Veroli casket; and with an Aphrodite pestered by erotes, in the sixth-century mosaic floor of the Hippolytus Hall in Madaba.³⁶ The basket, at Madaba, contained the strewn roses. Like the rose-garland basket of Ananeosis at Qasr el-Lebia, it signifies luxurious and fragrant abundance. On this great silver and gilded perfume burner the rose-basket makes perfect metaphorical sense, and points with its joking nudity to the possibility that the domed building represents a bath-house. Andreia and Phronesis, promoting health and cleanliness, could signal the Byzantine acceptance of baths; the celebration of fragrance belongs to another precious object of architectural design. Gregory Nazianzus endured a traumatic hazing as a student arriving in Athens, where a rowdy posse of young men had rushed him through the streets to bang on the bath-house doors as they held him captive; yet later in life he retreated to hot monastic baths for his health during a tense political moment.³⁷

The eleventh-century silver-gilt reliquary of St Demetrios in Moscow, unlike the San Marco five-domed scent-burner, was designed to imitate the saint's shrine, and to hold his fragrant myrrh and holy blood. Its octagonal enclosure supports eight footed basins, probably standing lamps.³⁸ If these basins reflect the monumental original, those lamps' flames as substitutes for water-jets may have dispensed burning fragrance to honour the fragrant relics. From the sixth century, vase-shaped and chalice-shaped silver lamps survive, as well as representations of such lamps standing high on an architrave and holding a central flame or candle as a fountain of similar form would hold its *strobilion* or spout.³⁹ In a silver paten dated 565–78 lamps shaped like handleless kraters, spouting light and possibly also fragrance, stand on the architrave behind Christ. Other objects cited in the section on sculpture below demonstrate the interrelated forms of fountains,

incense burners, cosmetic containers and lamps for sometimes-scented oil. Kosmesis herself, personified above the rivers at Qasr el-Lebia holds a censer and a rose.⁴⁰

A group of panels in the mosaic grid of paving from the same Qasr el-Lebia East Church tempers the personifications of the mighty rivers of paradise as humorously coordinated servers of drink and music-makers at a feast. In the East/West sequence a roaring lion separates a pair of paradisaal rivers on either side of a square with Ananeosis, personifying renewal, above, the spring Kastalia below, and the rivers at the corners.⁴¹ Next to Ananeosis, Geon, the Nile, leans from his seat on a larger jar, shaking a sistrum towards her; below, Euphrates, also not reclining but sitting on the belly of his spilling water-jar, seems about to tap or beat its base with the knob-ended tip of his cornucopia, as if turning the jar into a percussion instrument. Opposite Euphrates, Tigris sits upright, offering a large goblet above his flowing jar to Ananeosis, towards whom he gazes. Phison (the Ganges or Danube) extends a drinking bowl to her, spilling water from it like the flow from a fountain's upper tier joining the broader stream that spreads from the jar below. The spring Kastalia, reclining more fully on her jar, appears to listen, while the lions inserted between the rivers bare their teeth and tongues, as if to add their apotropaic roar to the water sounds of rattling, drumming, spilling and pouring, all the more emphatically for the silence above on the central axis: Ananeosis presiding as if in a *kathisma*, pulling a fragrant rose garland by its cord from a basket on the railing; and an eagle below her renewing its power with the voiceless carcass of a deer.

A sistrum's soft swishing sound, recorded by faculty and students of the Peabody Conservatory, accompanies a statue of Isis in the Walters Art Museum, confirming the acoustical reference in the mosaic, and in a Roman marble fountain sculpture from Tarsus.⁴² The babyish Tarsus Eros had been rattling the sistrum when he fell asleep, knocking over the jar on which his head came to rest, the water flowing from the spout concealed inside the jar's mouth deepening his slumber, like a lullaby. This marble vignette in the Hellenistic tradition, varying the theme of the sleeping Eros, plays with a sound of only a tiny stream of water, the entire sculpture being hardly more than half a metre long. The positioning of the child's hands, one holding the sistrum and the other pointing to the jar mouth, emphasises this sistrum/water sound reference. At Qasr el-Lebia, the Nile vibrating his three-barred sistrum makes the sound of his water's triple-streamed flow, just as Euphrates, if he is drumming on his jar, suggests the sound of rapids or of a river in flood.

The lions in the Qasr el-Lebia mosaic, standing and snarling, or striding forward, dispense no water. But spouted water can offer quietness as well as voices or music. In Byzantine Egypt and in later Coptic monasteries, the water of condensation spouts without roaring through the mouth of a lion. These lions, like those carved on the fronts of Saqqara water-jar troughs for drinking and ablution, illustrate the lingering identification of water spout with lion heads, even when paws are added, or the head becomes vegetal in its stylisation.⁴³

Voiced water noises feature prominently, however, in two poems praising baths built c.900 by Leo the Wise.⁴⁴ The poet chooses an anacreontic meter, as Paul Magdalino observes, a meter 'based on quantity as well as stress', surely in relation to water an onomatopoeic choice. Without 'the two immutably long vowels in the first syllable', each line trickles into full flow, reiterating metrically the fluctuations of running water. Inside the bath, the poet says, 'rain precipitates from godlike mouths', implying that giving water is a function of power; and also an audible metaphor for speech. The burden of the message is that Leo, as 'the guardian of rhetoric has excelled himself'. Unlike the 'forgers of artless words' he has installed sculptures in the baths that in their beauty contribute to the effect of healing, evoking a great variety of sounds: not only the cries and the metallic singing of birds but also the tunefulness of music; the beat and rattle of a weaver's loom; the hissing of a snake; and the roaring of a lion.

Byzantine writers describing water sounds often compare them to voices. This rhetorical idea has a recent technological application. It has been found that a background noise of electronic whooshing, so-called 'pink noise', tuned to the frequency of human voices, is effective in masking annoying office sounds, improving workers' concentration.⁴⁵ The Evangelist Mark, in the twelfth-century Athos manuscript *Pantokrator Cod.* 234, the so-called *Kalyvitis Gospel*, seems to benefit in this way from fountain noise in his portrait as author.⁴⁶ Mark works, as if outdoors, close to a raised terrace where swaying trees accompany a fountain spouting water into two tiers from a large pine-cone finial. Another chalice-shaped vessel framed by an archway spouts tree-like branches, or green water-jets, in the dark interior of an architectural space, a small round building, possibly a bath, with a low domical roof. The bare-headed woman looking at Mark from a curtained doorway suggests a possible, if untraceable, connection between this scene and Anna's garden at Daphni, where a maid in the doorway looks out towards Anna and the fountain.

Gregory of Nazianzus penning his homilies in the famous Sinai manuscript frontispiece also works within earshot of water sounds, varied by

the differing designs and flow of two fountains (fig. 10.1). They stand, framed by arches, in an enclosed space attached to the building and deep enough to be shown as dark. The darkness in its absence of visual detail prompts the viewer to imagine the enhanced acoustical effect, as in the Great Palace mosaic where the two streams of water tumble out of the dark archways.

The two unlike fountains or vessels in each of these two miniatures are rendered with appreciative specificity. A pleasure in variety accompanied the Byzantine reuse of often unmatching ancient materials, as in the description by an earlier emperor, Constantine VII, of the two unlike fountains in the atrium of the Nea Ekklesia. Each visually offers its own sculptural and structural marvels, with basins and spouts of differing shapes and sizes. When water played in them, the sound effects must have benefited from the juxtaposition, blending to make background noise as variegated and rich in audible *poikileia*, in dappled sounds, as the basins' visibly flecked and coloured stones; but allegorically Mark's raised *phiale*'s scalloped rim repeats the scalloped rim of his writing desk, and the vertical pole supporting his book-stand above the desk is reflected in the fountain's pipe; the parallel refers to the Gospel flowing from his pen as a river of paradise, watering, perhaps, the lesser indoor vase.⁴⁷

Spouts, finials and basins as sculptural entities

Whatever their location, fountains frequently present or deliver water through sculpture. Ancient or even early Byzantine fallen capitals were among the convenient spoils Byzantine sculptors and builders appropriated for reuse in fountains, partly for sculptural interest. The well-head painted at the centre of a twelfth-century Annunciation to the Virgin by the Well in Kastoria (fig. 12.2) is fashioned of an inverted column capital elaborated by the painter for its flowery design; a fountain in the New York Cruciform Lectionary has been given a square rim like the abacus of a capital hollowed out (fig. 10.3); while an Egyptian version of a Corinthian capital appears, truncated, as a fountain basin depicted by a sixth-century woodcarver.⁴⁸

The fountain in the woodcarving, standing under a flattened shell-niche, is probably a wall fountain in a perspectively manipulated space, perhaps a private villa, where a performance of music and acrobatics is taking place. The former capital rests on the ground, adapted to fit a smaller column-base, and identifiable by the single row of central leaves

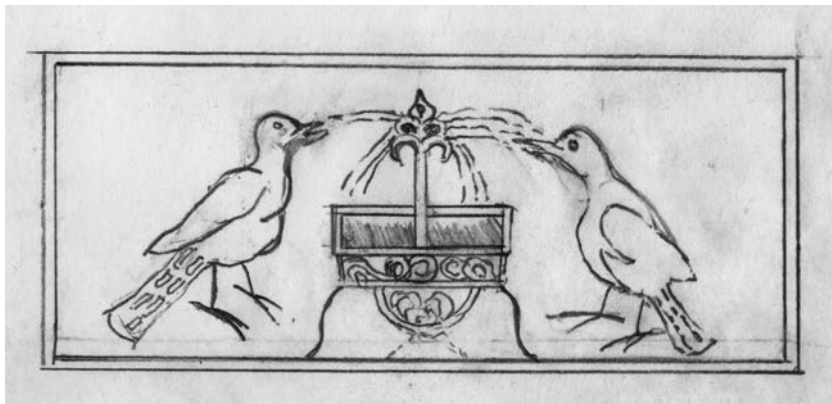


Fig 10.3. New York Cruciform Lectionary, The Pierpont Morgan Library MS M692, fol. 2, detail from upper margin, drawn by Peter Wheeler.

taking the centre and corner axes, and the pair of Y-shaped calices for the missing volutes.⁴⁹ Of two sixth-century basins fashioned from capitals, in Thessalonike, one preserves an inverted row of acanthus, and two unequal peripheral openings (for water intake and outlet?); the other is a type associated with the rich programme of Proconnesian marble sculpture offered in Constantinople in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos.⁵⁰ Its bowl is pierced with a central opening for the pipe to pass through. As sculpture, this capital is an apt choice for a fountain, whether or not its pipe was crowned, like a thyrsus, with a pine-cone spout. Sculpted thyrsi with pine-cone heads rising to the four corners of the capital, in the place of volutes, embrace the rim of the fountain-basin's bowl, making reference to the convention of the spouting pine-cone at a fountain's centre. Free-standing fountains invited sculpture both in relief and in the round, and spouts and finials were focal points.

A sculptural spout or finial in painted or mosaic fountain scenes emphasises the water's trajectory or flow. Generally speaking, lion-head spouts release downward-flowing water, while pine-cone finials spray upwards and outwards from the top of a vertically rising pipe. Observing pressure, quantity, dispersal and control, Gregory Nazianzus in his *Second Theological Oration* comments on the natural flow of drinking water, above earth's surface, versus the scarcer water rising geo-thermally heated for baths.⁵¹ He observes that God pours and scatters water, ever since Noah's flood letting it 'go out free and uncontrolled.' In the same oration he considers water's directional management in a spiritual image of mortality contravened, as if he had been observing water in fountains. 'I flow downwards,' as if in

response to the gravity nature provides, 'yet I am borne upwards', as if under pressure, rising towards God.⁵²

Contrary to logic and tradition, an inverted lion head shoots water upwards, in a fountain painted in the margin of a canon table in a sixth-century Syriac Gospel book.⁵³ The lion finial crowns a long pipe rising from a scallop-shell basin. As a tall, high-pressure stream the water extends the line of the pipe up to a thick splash-like highpoint, sending down a crooked shower. This lion spout, as *strobilos* on its vertical pipe in a shell basin, gives the impression of a pastiche imaginatively reusing ancient elements. The illustration seems to show a stone shell basin, with a small bronze lion-head spout removed from its original downward orientation to create the columnar jet.⁵⁴ In actuality it might have been possible, if awkward, to adapt a flat-backed marble shell basin from a *nymphaeum* wall fountain so that the water flowed up through the basin instead of out through the wall, or else to make the basin free-standing; the image does not show the basin's support.

As a sculptural spout projecting from a vertical surface, even a diminutive, gurgling lion head can monumentalise its setting. Anna's garden in the Chora mosaic (see plate 4) introduces a tiered fountain of rectangular pools; the only visible spout is a small but conspicuous lion head. The stream's impact on the water held below indicates a steady thrumming sound, and strengthens the visual theme of fertility if troughs like this and the one at Daphni were used for watering.⁵⁵

Water rushing from a lion's mouth contrasts with the pine-cone's paradoxical rhetoric of rising water that makes a lyrical music of varying sounds from a seemingly ephemeral flow. Unlike the overflowing stream from a lion-head spouted wall fountain at a king's residence, water spurting up outdoors toward the sky defies gravity, so that Gregory Nazianzus, carrying the image beyond the material, refers to Christ as the fountain of lights.⁵⁶ The water splashes, sounds and glitters, curving and falling through the air; individual jets break up into reflective droplets in motion, becoming relaxed and passive further down. Many Byzantine fountain representations show the trajectory arcing from pierced sculptural finials at the top of pipes that pass through basins, often in more than one tier. Small fountains designed in this way could dramatise a little gravity-fed water, which may partly explain the precious appearance and apparently small scale of fountains above arch-framed canon tables or painted headpieces in Byzantine manuscripts. Their marginal space at the top of a page, however, also constrained the painters to make the images of the fountains small, while the birds that frequently visit the fountains are disproportionately large.

Often, as in the *Daphni* depiction, the perspective shifts from a profile view to show the rim-framed surface of the water inside as if seen from above. Such shifts, a visual polyvalence, permit the viewer to perceive simultaneously the spouts and the water in the basins, so that the central spout and the sounds depending on it become the focal centre of the fountain and its elegant materials. In a book known to have been painted in Constantinople around 1200, the *Vani Gospels*, paintings of fountains over canon tables show the full basins in bird's eye view, with pine-cone spouts and canopies in profile; in an earlier but closely related manuscript, Paris BN gr. 64, a similar fountain scene likewise tilts the top of the basin, even without a canopy.⁵⁷

Spouting pine-cones receive special attention. The imbricated pine-cone finial on its pipe in the *Daphni* mosaic, presented as a tree-like sculpture, benefits from juxtaposition with the garden's tall conifers behind and around the fountain. The finial's large size in relation to the conical crowns of the far trees enhances its importance. But it is clearly a pine-cone; the nearest archaeological counterpart is a small bronze pine-cone spout from Pompeii in the British Museum.⁵⁸ This spout crowns a columnar shaft. The cone's wide base gives it a conspicuous pine-cone profile, textured by the spiralling grid-pattern of bulging scales. Only close side-by-side examination could answer the question of whether the cast finial might be made from a mould taken from a natural pine-cone, like Roman glass bottles blown into moulds made from actual dates. Piercings for the water are visible in three ranges of scales near the pine-cone's top. Water pushed through under pressure would have formed thin, possibly hissing jets, that shot upward or outward before falling, as in the *Daphni* mosaic. When the fountain was active the water became an animated extension of the sculpture, not descending under channelled control like the water from a lion-head spout, but scattering and dispersing through the air. The scale or size of fountain pine-cones as well as of lion-head spouts could range from very small to extremely large, depending on their setting and function. One witness to pine-cones' sculptural prominence no longer spouts water: the great first-century bronze *Pigna* reinstalled with copies of two of its accompanying Hadrianic peacocks in the Vatican's Cortile del Belvedere. From Paulinus of Nola's description and later drawings it has been identified with the monumental ablution fountain in the atrium of Old St Peter's.⁵⁹

An ivy leaf or a palmette substituting for a pine-cone finial reflects the ivy-tipped thyrsus; the Byzantine palmette and ivy leaf can be interchangeable. The capital-shaped fountain in the New York Cruciform Lectionary (fig. 10.3) has a palmette spout, reflecting the popularity of the motif in

sculpture. Palmettes, repeated in a frieze, on either side of a central cross, are also ivy leaves, framed by heart-shaped outlines along the face of a marble architrave from a Byzantine church in western Thrace, dated c.1050–1100.⁶⁰ Of bird spouts even fewer survive than spouting pine-cones. Subtle, ambiguous sixth-century evidence comes from the Theodora mosaic at San Vitale in Ravenna, from an ambo relief in Kavala and from one of the Rabbula Gospels canon tables.⁶¹ In the mosaic fountain, from a columnar spout with a ring-like collar but no finial rising from the little chalice-shaped marble bowl, a water-jet shaped like an eagle rises with wings spread wide and its head turned in profile.⁶² Twin arcs of water shape the wing-shoulders; the dripping streams below separate like wing plumage, before mingling with the responding horizontal ripples of water in the bowl. Lighter and darker tesserae model the eagle's image so that the water seems to be taking flight at the approach of the Empress. Integrating the water's movement with this bird shape brings the fountain to life acoustically also, by invoking the water's fluttering rush of sound.⁶³

In a less courtly context, a large eagle, in high relief, flies above the tilted mouth of a small fountain or chalice in a niche, on a fragmentary marble ambo in Kavala.⁶⁴ Whether the eagle, with wings widespread, is arriving or departing, it holds its food in its talons, and removes a snake with its beak. Above the Rabbula canon table a large bird spreads its wings over a scalloped basin, the downward curve of its neck more swan than eagle-like. Proportionately larger than the Ravenna eagle waterspout, this bird too is centred in the basin. A red-gold tinge on its wings indicates either that the bird is metallic, perhaps a spout, or else a live bird coloured to distinguish it from the marble of the basin where it alights to drink. The mention of an eagle sculpture, golden in colour, at the top of a garden fountain in the novels by Makrembolites and Eugenianos, discussed by Terése Nilsson in this volume, raises the question of whether such a feature of earlier fountains may not have been within the reader's frame of reference as an actuality in Komnenian Constantinople.

Relief sculpture depicting fountains may sometimes have been actually made for fountains. No less imaginatively than a novelist, the sculptor of a marble closure slab from twelfth-century Thebes has transformed a fountain spout, in relief, into a tree with a garden bird at the top.⁶⁵ A wiry but almost leafless vine shoots up and scrolls across the panel's surface. Although extremely worn, these fountain-like details remain on the central axis: a pine-cone's shape, with several rows of scales below the bird's foot; beneath the pine-cone, a pipe or vertical support decoratively sheathed for part of its height with a bead-and-reel pattern; and a pair of peacocks facing

one another. Only the fountain's vase or basin has been omitted. The pine-cone's shape incorporates the bird's swelling dove-like contours over half the rows of scales, as if the bird perching on the pine-cone were united with it as a finial or fountain spout. This compression may be a self-referential visual rhetoric if the panel was designed for the parapet of a fountain enclosure. The leaf in the bird's beak, reminiscent of the olive-sprig brought to Noah by the dove, suggests that a fountain with a pine-cone finial will not give destructive rain, a versatile message suitable wherever the panel was installed; but fountain parapets need not have differed essentially from such panels set elsewhere. Although no such sculpture may now be known as certainly coming from lost or dismembered fountains, Byzantine stone relief panels now in architectural settings or museums frequently represent fountain motifs.

Metalwork of Roman, Byzantine or Islamic making provides more parallels with fountain sculpture. Precedents for the actual survival of an eagle as a fountain finial in the Athos Grand Lavra (see plate 6) appear in birds rising, descending or perching; a Pompeiian peacock fountain-spout; low relief and fully rounded sixth-to-seventh-century doves; ninth-to-tenth-century peacocks on a votive crown; a long series of spread-winged eagles used as finials; and of bird lamps and incense-burners, as well as of vessels designed to pour through the beak of a bird.⁶⁶ A lively rooster vocalises as the spout of the bronze 'Marwan' ewer, while bird-shaped aquamaniles stand with closed wings.⁶⁷

A Byzantine image at the base of a lectionary text column in Paris Coislin 31 (fol. 7v.) stands alone as representing a fountain group, possibly an automaton, made of precious metalwork.⁶⁸ Between two beribboned peacocks stands a very large pine-cone on a short, broad pipe or stem. It rests centred in a basin set on a column base, and shaped like basins fashioned from capitals. But this pine-cone's height exceeds the basin's implied depth. Pine-cone and basin are coloured with polychrome parallel bands and chevron patterns imitating cloisonné enamel work on gold; the grouping of the ensemble suggests three free-standing units, two individual peacocks and the basin with its pine-cone, not a flat enamel composition against a patterned ground. No water can be seen. Nor are the peacocks static: as one dips its beak towards the basin to drink, the other turns its head away, and the loose ribbons with flag-like terminals stream around their mobile, rapidly flexing necks, as if to show that they are in motion.

Bands of colour, as if applied to the curved surfaces, divide the image into segments, each colour zone distinct from its neighbours, and surrounded by gold lines like the thin walls of the gold cells separating enamel colours.

On the birds' tails and a wing-shoulder the rows of white dots resemble those found in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine enamel-work. An inner arc negotiates the pine-cone's bulge. As John Lowden suggests, possible imitation of enamel for non-figural ornament in a group of high-status lectionaries, referring to the lost enamel and gold covers of these books, the illuminator may have seen, or even helped design such enamel-work.⁶⁹ The technique and its effect were so much admired that the twelfth-century decorator of an unfinished ceramic bowl found in Corinth imitated enamel's linear vocabulary, evocatively if not systematically, by emphasising enclosed outlining and adding decorative compartments when engraving a bird.⁷⁰

The absence of water in the Coislin 31 miniature and the pine-cone's chimney-like stem argue for a special dispensing function. The large pine-cone on the broad base would function well either as a table fountain for wine or scented water, or as a perfume or incense burner, an enamelled automaton even more spectacular, in action, than the fragrant dispensing of smoke by the San Marco perfume burner's miniature golden and silver architecture. The language of fountain sculpture had long been shared with scent-bottles, fragrance-burners and lamps that could burn scented oil.

Bronze lamps can parallel fountain figures in their finials (on lids or handles) and also in their nozzles, which are analogous to spouts. Roman examples in the British Museum include these fountain-related forms: a pine-cone; a bird atop a lamp lid; a goose whose feet, tucked beneath it, support the lamp, and whose tail held the burning wick; a lamp with a theatrical slave-mask as its wick-hole, like a bronze fountain spout from the House of the Little Fountain in Pompeii; a Silenus astride a wineskin reservoir, like the bronze fountain figure from the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum; and an eagle finial standing on the reservoir lid of a lost lamp, with spread wings like the more stylised eagle on the handle of a Byzantine lamp in Athens; an early Byzantine repository of votive lamps was found at a fountain site in Corinth.⁷¹

The fourteenth-century Hyrtakenos description of a fountain's wild animal sculpture resonates with a continuing repertory of hunting or hunted birds and animals on copper-alloy objects related to fragrance or to water, in both Byzantine and Islamic contexts. Among the birds atop such vessels, an open-winged eagle carrying a snake or gripping other prey recalls the Qasr el-Lebia mosaic and the marble ambo relief in Kavala.⁷² Although eagles are often finials, hares and other animals appear on fountain basins and other vessels, including tableware,⁷³ while animal sculptures or handles at the sides of a cantharus or bottle, pulling themselves up from their hind legs, with their front paws on the rim, are not hunters but would-be

drinkers. Clambering to the rims of vases or fountains, unlike the lions, leopards (or cheetahs), deer, eagles, hares, calves and crows, twelve of each, in stone, that were said to have spouted water at Hagia Sophia, the climbing beasts reflect the customary presence of Dionysian imagery in gardens.⁷⁴

As a fountain motif in middle Byzantine reliefs the scrambling Bacchic felines, or the alternative peacocks that awkwardly adopt the same position, still accompany a pine-cone spout, the spout that was originally a thyrsus, the wine-god's spear-like attribute understood to have magical sprinkling power.⁷⁵ This power was not quickly forgotten, nor did Euripides' *Bacchae* ever fully disappear from Byzantine literary consciousness. In the fifth century, Nonnos in the *Dionysiaca* describes the maenads fleeing from Pentheus striking the ground with their thyrsos; milk or wine sprang out of the rock in fountains.⁷⁶

By contrast, and in conclusion, it is possible to propose that the water-damaged sculpture on a reused stone defines at least one Byzantine fountain still existing (fig. 10.4). A large gridded pine-cone spout, now more a



Fig 10.4. Pierced marble slab with fountain relief, Iznik Museum Inv. No. 758, drawn by Peter Wheeler.

fountain-signifier than a Bacchic motif, is central to a middle Byzantine relief apparently carved as a wall fountain. A marble carving of unknown provenance, Iznik Museum Inv. No. 758, it presents a fountain on the back of an up-ended early Christian closure slab. The fountain, under leaning foliage, privileges the stemless pine-cone in size over its crescent-shaped basin, which has doubly curved handles, and rests on a very high, slender stem. The pine-cone itself dispensed no water, although clambering peacocks climb towards it, up the spirally grooved stem.⁷⁷ Water poured out through the stone image, instead, well below the bowl; the outlet is halfway up the stem/shaft, and slightly larger in diameter than the shaft's width.

The birds' feet bracket the outlet. The flow through the shaft parallels the spouting shafts supporting the Nea south fountain's pine-cone, and the Daphni mosaic fountain's basin; fountain panels pierced with spouts appear in a twelfth/thirteenth-century Barlaam and Joasaph manuscript, and a 1366 Mistra painting of Gregory Nazianzus.⁷⁸ The flow, below the outlet, has eroded the relief. The piercing, even if it represents a third phase of the stone's use, exceeds the elegant author portrait fountains of Mark and Gregory in illustrating the power of a Byzantine fountain image. Like a thyrsus striking a rock this dry pine-cone, depicted as free-standing in a basin, transformed a simple water outlet through a stone into a fountain.

Notes

- 1 For Roman domestic fountains' water supply, Jones and Robinson 2005; von Stackelberg 2009: 40. A rainwater cistern fed the zoomorphic spouts of Hagia's Sophia's 'Leontarion' ablutions fountain, Mango 1972: 101.
- 2 T. K. Thomas 2012: no. 39B. Cf. the pioneering study, Strzygowski 1903.
- 3 MMA acc. no. 40.185; cf. for allover roses, the Louvre Daphne phoenix mosaic, Pappalardo and Ciardiello 2010: 50; Piccirillo 1993: pl. 6.
- 4 Vitruvius 3.5.15, in Rowland and Howe 1999.
- 5 Evans and Wixom 1997: 4, for visible details; J. Anderson 1997a: no. 63, fol. 4v.
- 6 H. Maguire 1987b: 24–8, fig. 16. Deichmann 1958: pls. 26–7. Context: Kitzinger 1977: 55–6 and fig. 93. Cf. Antioch House of the Sun-Dial, Room 2, Levi 1947: vol. I, 91, pl. CLXXX b.
- 7 House of Menander, Room 13, Levi 1947: vol. I, 204–5; vol. II, pl. XLVIc. Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana Plut. I, 56. fol. 12a, Nordenfalk 1938: 243–6, pl. 147; Thessalonike, Acheiropoietos church, fragment in Museum of Byzantine Culture, H. Maguire 2012: 45, pl. III, cf. cornucopias overflowing with foliage on sixth-century gold bracelets in the Benaki Museum, Yeroulanou 2008: no. 139.
- 8 *Second Theological Oration* 27, Schaff 1894: 298, cf. Job 26:10.

- 9 *Second Theological Oration* 27, Schaff 1894: 298.
- 10 Hinks 1933: mosaic 49a; British Museum inv. no. 1967.0405.12; the Museum has no accessible records of the excavation. Cf. n. 11.
- 11 *Ep.* 4 to Basil, Schaff 1894: 447. Moses strikes a shell-like rock, producing twin streams, on a silver ewer from Traprain Law, Mundell Mango 2008: 153; Cormack 2008.
- 12 Reputedly from the Esquiline, Pryce and Smith 1892–1904: no. 1755: British Museum inv. no. 1880.0807.1; Baltimore Museum of Art inv. no. 1939.124. Jar spouts, like dolphins, seem not to have continued in Byzantine favour.
- 13 Deichmann 1969: figs. 165, 166.
- 14 Evans 2012b: 8, fig. 5.
- 15 Flood 2012: 244–57, figs. 101–3.
- 16 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: fig. 1, 109–10.
- 17 Painting the pipes as golden could represent polished brass, cf. Paul the Silentiary on the Hagia Sophia atrium fountain, cf. n. 21 below; a green colour suggests copper alloy. Cf. lead-sheathed bronze spouts in short mouth-pipe sections of two first century BC/AD Hellenistic or Roman bronze lion heads from Cyprus, MMA acc. no. 74.51.5677-8; Karageorghis 2000: 283 no. 462; Lightfoot 2000: 23, fig. 25.
- 18 Iviron Cod. 1404, fol. 333, Kadas 1997.
- 19 Fol. 2, J. Anderson 1997b: no. 61. *Fifth Theological Oration, On the Holy Spirit*, 31, Schaff 1894: 328. Cf. the San Marco sardonix chalice, Kalavrezou 1997: no. 32.
- 20 Cf. pottery; architecturally imitative ceramic censers; cheetahs, E. D. Maguire 1997: 257, 262. Cup (cf. sardonix cup, Evans and Wixom 1997: no. 117) and drinking bowl, from Corinth, eleventh century, Skarmoutosou 2002: nos. 357, 358. Plate, dated by context twelfth–thirteenth century (2004 Kadikalesi-Anaia excavations, no. BBI-8, Aydin Museum), Mercangöz 2007: 85; cf. pine-cone-fountain cheetahs, Sinai, Holy Monastery cod. 179, Broilo 2009: 19; ‘leopards’ among spouts at Hagia Sophia: n. 1 above.
- 21 *Descr. S. Sophiae* 590ff., Mango 1972: 85. Cf. n. 45 below.
- 22 Gospel book, Biblioteca Palatina 5, fol. 5; Eleuteri 1993: 3–13, pl. 1. Geometres’ streams are Graces; text and translation H. Maguire 1990: 215. The Parma composition parallels a Bacchic formula, British Museum inv. no. 1805.0703.306.
- 23 Smith and Cheetham 1875: vol. I, 777.
- 24 Hinks, mosaic 48, and British Museum inv. no. 1967.0405.11; Vitruvius 8.2, in Rowland and Howe 1999.
- 25 Princeton University Art Museum, no. y1965-216; Pappalardo and Ciardiello 2010: 252–3; Levi 1947: vol. II, pl. XXX, a–b. Cf. a Bacchic cantharus, Burn 1903: Terracotta D526.
- 26 Broilo 2009: 8–19.
- 27 Stern 2012: fig. 52.
- 28 Cf. n. 11 above.

- 29 Mattusch 2008: nos. 84–7; von Stackelberg 2009: 40. In one feline family: Ödekan 2007: 251, 241; MMA acc. no. 51.56, c, and a Fatimid bronze spouting lion, Baer 1983: fig. 133 (ear sockets remain on the Iznik lion); lion fountains, Broilo 2009: 12–13; Ibn Gabirol in Wedeck 1962; Bargebuhr 1956; Ruggles 1992: 168–70.
- 30 The bronze goose from Constantinople discussed by Rowena Loverance in this volume would have needed two pipes to gush fragrant smoke with – or instead of – hissing water. It also has a removable head.
- 31 MMA acc. no. 51.56. Tabbaa 1987 for Islamic garden fountains.
- 32 Wedeck 1962.
- 33 *Alexiad* 11.9–10. Cf. n. 30 above, nn. 65, 66 below, and for dragons, L. Bouras 1977.
- 34 Vitruvius 3.5, in Rowland and Howe 1999.
- 35 Kalavrezou 1997: no. 176; Da Villa Urbani 2008; cf. Drandaki 2012: 122B.
- 36 Cutler 1997; H. Maguire 1997: 186; see n. 2 above.
- 37 Schaff 1894: hazing: 'Panegyric on S. Basil' 16, p. 400; Xantharis baths in 382, *Ep.* 126.478.
- 38 Kalavrezou 1997: no. 36. Cf. pan-shaped sixth-century lamps at Hagia Sophia, Paulus Silentarius, 839 in Mango 1972: 90; bowl-shaped (hanging), mid-tenth century, British Library Add. 28815, fol. 76v., Hutter 1998: fig. 127.
- 39 Boyd 1998: 157–8, 175, pl. VIII, fig. 6.3, 6.4. Cf. hanging cantharus-lamp, bronze, Bénazeth 2000: no. 194.
- 40 H. Maguire 1987b: 44–8, fig. 55. Cf. bronze censers: pine-cone on openwork stem; preying feline, Badawy 1978: 329 figs. 5.4, 6; 5:20. Cf. Caseau 1994.
- 41 H. Maguire 1987b: figs. 52, 55–8, 60; H. Maguire 2012: 14–22, figs. 1.5–6. For good online colour images, Qasr Libya Mosaic Museum 2006–13, where the mosaics now hang as individual panels.
- 42 Pryce and Smith 1892–1904: no. 1678, British Museum 1868.1025.2. I thank Susan Weiss for directing me to the recording.
- 43 Falk 1996: 112, no. 57; cf. Wessel 1965: 22, pl. 23; cf. Bénazeth 2000: 39, no. 3. For leafy abstraction cf. a Fatimid cheetah, Alcouffe 1985.
- 44 Magdalino 1988: 116–17.
- 45 Tierney 2012.
- 46 Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1997. Note the presence of homilies in this book, in the light of the fountains here and in the author portrait in the Sinai Gregory (fig. 10.1). For indoor/outdoor fountain sounds and Pliny the Younger, von Stackelberg 2009: 133.
- 47 Scalloped shapes: nn. 10, 11 above; n. 54 below. H. Maguire 1997: 182–4 and 2012: 65–6 connects John Geometres' text praising birdsong as variegated with Gregory's *New Sunday Sermon*; and also with the Hyrtakenos *Description of the Garden of St. Anne*. For *poikileia*, Pentcheva 2010: 139–43; H. Maguire 2012: chapter 4, 111–12: spoliation and the taste for variety. Water allegories for Gospels: Van den Hoek and Herrmann 2000: 198; H. Maguire 1987b: 27–8, 77, 90 n. 71.
- 48 Bénazeth 2012.

- 49 Cf. a Saqqara capital, C. C. Walters 1974: 176, 180, fig. 26. Kastoria: H. Maguire 2012: 145. fig. 5.7.
- 50 Tsitsubasi 2002. Hagios Polyeuktos sculpture identified on site or as spoils in Venice: Nelson 2010: n. 2, 63–73.
- 51 Gregory Nazianzus, *Second Theological Oration* 26, Schaff 1894: 298.
- 52 Gregory Nazianzus, *Second Theological Oration* 27, Schaff 1894: 298.
- 53 Paris, Bib. Nat. syr. 33, fol. 8b, Nordenfalk 1938: 237, pl. 126; cf. spolia, nn. 48, 49 above; shell-shapes: nn. 10, 11, 46 above; copper-alloy lion heads, 13 cm high: n. 17 above.
- 54 The lion heads cited above hold the spouts in their tongues; the Carthage mosaic shell basin cited above rests on the ground.
- 55 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: 106–10, fig. 2.
- 56 Wall fountain, Moab palace, twelfth century ‘Vatican Octateuch’, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 473v., Evans and Wixom 1997: 192; Poem 1.1.7 *De substantiis mente praeditis*, PG 37, 438–46.
- 57 E.g. Paris BN gr. 64 fols. 3v.–8, Germain 1992. Vani Gospels, National Centre of Manuscripts, Tblisi, A1335, fol. 3v., Eastmond 2008.
- 58 Roberts 2013: fig. 177.
- 59 Van den Hoek and Herrmann 2000; Huelsen 1904; Kessler 2002: fig. 1.1; Arbeiter 1988: figs. 126–8.
- 60 J. Anderson 1997b: no. 61, c.1125–50; Asdracha 1997.
- 61 Ivanov 2012, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56, fol 4v. Cf. water-filled krater with shell-shaped mouth, an open-winged eagle above, a duck or goose below, in a Jerusalem sixth-century mosaic pavement, Kitzinger 1977: 89, fig. 93.
- 62 Deichmann 1958: pl. 358; Pappalardo and Ciardiello 2010: 293 or Yeroulanou 2008: fig. 30. Eagles above columns accompany the bejewelled empress on the Vienna ivory diptych panel, James 2008.
- 63 The Rabbula bird’s axial flapping suggests a water-jet; see Gregory Nazianzus, ‘the swan spreads his wings ... and makes melody of their rustling’, *Second Theological Oration* 24, Schaff 1894: 297.
- 64 H. Maguire 1992.
- 65 Katselaki 2008. The wear suggests subsequent use as paving. Perhaps also from an eleventh–thirteenth-century fountain enclosure: vertical marble panel in which an arch was cut, under peacocks drinking at a pine-cone fountain: Ödekan 2007; cf. Gregory Nazianzus and Job, on God’s fencing-in the waters, n. 51 above.
- 66 Roberts 2013: fig. 178, bronze peacock from the house of Camillus; Evans 2012a: 22N, ‘Attarouthi Treasure’ 41–4, no. 22N, hovering silver dove; Constantinople, Cimok 2011: 27, descending dove on the bronze ‘imperial door’ lintel, Hagia Sophia; Frazer 1985; Cutler and Spieser 1907: 190, pl. 144, perching silver-gilt peacocks on the Leo VI crown; Drandaki 2008: no. 169, eagle finial on the lid of sixth-century bronze amphoriskoi from Egypt; Drandaki 2012: no. 122C, eighth–tenth-century bronze eagle censer excavated, like the ‘Marwan ewer’,

- in the Fayyum; Baer 1983: figs. 131 a raptor dated 796/7, 134, a tenth-century lantern finial bird; 2002c: a bronze bust-length raptor from twelfth-thirteenth-century Iran.
- 67 See Baer 1983: 85–6 and 155–8; fig. 167; Ballian 2012: eighth-ninth-century rooster-spouted ewer; Ivanov 2012: no. 169; Makariou 2000: nos. 87–9, peacock ewers.
- 68 Index of Christian Art, Gabriel Millet Collection, image 4815, Paris Bibliothèque National MS Grec Coislin 31 fol. 4v.; See Terése Nilsson in this volume for the fountain automata Makrembolites describes. Da Villa Urbani 2008: 395, no. 3: curved surfaces and white dots.
- 69 Lowden 2009: 49.
- 70 E. D. Maguire 1997; cf. enamel-like patterning of a griffin and a cuirass in nos. 185, 183. I thank David Buckton for favourably considering this explanation of the bird's unusual design features, when we looked at the bowl together.
- 71 Bailey 1975: Q3601, Q3560, Q3601, Q3573, Q3571, Q3737; Chalkia 2002. See n. 29 above. Corinth and cultic practice linking fountains and lamps: Karivieri 2010.
- 72 Drandaki 2008.
- 73 Hares and rabbits: Drandaki 2012: no. 122C; Baer 1983: 156–7, fig. 132, cf. Roberts 2013: fig. 175; Maguire and Maguire 2007: 47–9, figs. 34, 4.
- 74 Feline 'handles': Van den Hoek and Herrmann 2000: 196, 213, figs. 13–14. Leontarion: n. 1 above; cf. peripheral bird and quadruped spouts at the Nea, H. Maguire 1990: 210–11 n. 3.
- 75 Discussing pine-cone fountains, Ernst Kitzinger first drew my attention to the sprinkling thyrsus of *Bacchae* 705–10.
- 76 Book 45.289–320.
- 77 Ödekan 2007: 87. Cf. a node between the feet of drinking peacocks on the long shaft of a fountain in relief, Alincik/Altinaş (Kütaya), Sodini 1994: 306, pl. 173, fig. 14.
- 78 Broilo 2009: 17–18.

11 | Fountains of paradise in early Byzantine art, homilies and hymns

BROOKE SHILLING

The first three chapters of the book of Genesis describe the Creation of heaven and earth, including the earthly Paradise, and the Fall of Man. After the enumeration of the seven days, in the context of a second Creation account, the Greek and Latin translations mention a fountain (πηγή, *fons*) that went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground (Genesis 2:6). Originally described as a mist (אֶרֶב) in the Hebrew text, the water cultivated the seeds that God had planted and prepared the ground for the creation of man (Genesis 2:7), ascribed already to the sixth day (Genesis 1:26–7, 31). A few lines later, after planting the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden, God fashioned a river (ποταμός) that went out of Eden and was parted into four heads (Genesis 2:10–14). In early Christian art and exegesis, the fountain of God's primordial earth was often conflated with the waters of paradise and imagined as the source (πηγή) of the four rivers. Ephrem the Syrian, for example, marvelled at God's power to transform fountains into rivers in his second hymn on Paradise:

Indeed, that Will for whom everything is easy constrains these abundant fountains of Paradise, confining them with land, like water channels; He summoned them to issue forth in our direction, just as He bound up the waters in the bosom of His clouds, ready to be sent forth into the atmosphere at the bidding of his Will.¹

Likewise, John Chrysostomos wrote of a fountain in Paradise, which he regarded as the source of visible and spiritual rivers that soothed the heat of the sun and the fire of sin on earth.²

Expounding on the text of Genesis, Christian writers described Paradise as a garden or an orchard, located to the east of the earth or high above the earth, where trees and flowers bloomed perpetually in a temperate climate without seasons.³ The trees released sweet perfumes and bore ripe fruits, animals and birds lived harmoniously together, and cool waters flowed all around. Accordingly, depictions of Paradise in early Byzantine art often combine a variety of animals and birds, a source of water and a garden, indicated by trees, plants or flowers. Although God ordered the cherubim and a flaming sword to guard the entrance to Eden and the path to the Tree of Life (Genesis 3:24), early Christian artists represented the closing of the

earthly Paradise, or Paradise lost, by means of garden gates. When present, these gates provide one the clearest indications that Paradise, and not God's Creation on earth, was meant to be represented in a given image. While complicating identification, the absence of Adam and Eve from many depictions of Paradise supports the idea that the earthly Paradise remained closed after the Fall and would be restored in heaven only after the Second Coming of Christ.⁴ This chapter investigates the theme of the fountain of Paradise in early Byzantine art with attention to problems of identification. Here, the descriptive title, 'fountain of Paradise', is preferred to the more common, but equally modern 'fountain of life'.⁵ After considering a variety of images and their essential characteristics in part one, the second part of the chapter explores the allegorical potential and complexity of the theme in a single monument, the apse mosaic of the Virgin and Child at Kiti in Cyprus. Metaphors of nature and water contained in early Byzantine homilies and hymns serve to contextualise the fountain of Paradise at Kiti.

Some of the most comprehensive and explicit representations of the fountain of Paradise can be found in the floor mosaics of Byzantine Macedonia.⁶ The trefoil mosaic of the baptistery at Ohrid, dated to the second half of the fifth century, depicts three two-tiered fountains surrounding the baptismal font (fig. 11.1).⁷ The hexagonal and cruciform basins imitate the forms of early Christian baptismal fonts, including the cruciform font of the Ohrid baptistery.⁸ Each of the fountains is surmounted by a pine-cone finial and flanked by two birds and two deer or two sheep, which drink from the fountains. From spouts on the basins, streams of water flow around the font and through four masks inscribed with the names of the four rivers: Phison, Gehon, Tigris (lost) and Euphrates.⁹ While there is no indication of a garden, the incorporation of fountains and rivers, inscriptions and a variety of living creatures enables a clear reading of the subject. Ultimately, the waters of the baptismal font are shown to be irrigated by and assimilated to the waters of Paradise.

Rarely in Byzantine art are the waters of Paradise rendered so completely.¹⁰ More often, they are signified by either fountains or rivers, reflecting ambiguity in the second Creation account of Genesis, the strict interpretation of the river (ποταμός) in Genesis 2:10 or the view that one or the other was sufficient to signify the waters.¹¹ In the contemporary mosaics of the nearby baptistery at Stobi, the elaborate fountains and rivers of the Ohrid baptistery are replaced by four *kantharoi* with pine-cone finials emerging from schematised acanthus leaves (see plate 10).¹² Each of the vessels is flanked by two deer and two black birds or two peacocks and two ducks.¹³ Trees and flowering branches complete the garden setting. In addition, five threshold



Fig 11.1. Ohrid, Baptistery, floor mosaic.
Photograph: Brooke Shilling.

panels extend from the perimeter of the mosaic through the five doorways of the baptistery. All of the panels are characterised by a pattern of imbricated scales, common to garden gates, parapets, and chancel screens. In this context, they symbolise the gates of Paradise. The same pattern appears in a floor mosaic of the fountain of Paradise from the complex west of the Large Basilica at Heraklea Lynkestis, dated to the middle of the sixth century.¹⁴ Once again, the fountain takes the form of a *kantharos*, flanked by living creatures of the land, air and water, including deer, birds and dolphins. The background of the mosaic contains a variety of flowers and fruit-bearing trees. In the foreground, the gates of Paradise are formed by a low barrier resembling a chancel screen with four rectangular panels joined by posts. The two central panels are decorated with imbricated scales, while the two outer panels are decorated with latticework.



Fig 11.2. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, marble relief from Ankara.
Photograph: Brooke Shilling.

The mosaics of Stobi and Heraklea display the full range of living creatures fashioned by God on earth and in the earthly Paradise: the beasts of the land, the birds of the air and creatures of the water.¹⁵ The priority of deer among the animals in Paradise is derived not from the text of Genesis, but from the opening verse of Psalm 41 (42): 'As the hart longs for the water fountains (τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων), so longs my soul for thee, O God.' With the hart perceived as a symbol of the Christian soul, the psalm became part of the liturgy of baptism from an early date and was sung by catechumens as they approached the font.¹⁶ The influence of the psalm on the decoration of Christian churches is attested already in the early fourth century by the emperor Constantine's donation of seven silver stags, each weighing 80 pounds, to the Lateran baptistery in the time of Pope Silvester (314–35).¹⁷ Pouring water into the font, the stags accompanied statues of Christ, John the Baptist and a golden lamb. Less spectacular programmes made more direct connections between the psalm and portrayals of deer drinking water. A black and white floor mosaic with the psalm inscribed in Latin decorated the room adjacent to the baptistery at Salona in Croatia, where the catechumens gathered to prepare for baptism.¹⁸ In the small figural scene set among large geometric pavements, two deer flank a *kantharos* filled with water against a background of cypress trees and flowers.¹⁹ While the fountain, deer and cypresses in particular evoke the imagery of Paradise, the mosaic lacks some of the defining features observed in other examples, including diverse species of birds, the rivers of Paradise and garden gates. Nevertheless, the artist probably intended the illustration of the psalm to resemble the fountain of Paradise. The fragmentary floor mosaic from the fourth-century basilica of Chrysopolitissa in Paphos represents a simpler version of the psalm with a single deer amid small flowers approaching a lost stream or pool of water. Above the deer, a Greek inscription records the first verse of the psalm.²⁰

A related image, also depicted on church floors, replaces the water of the vessel with a sprouting plant or vine. Such a composition was recently discovered in front of the central western apse in the early seventh-century basilica of Katalymmata ton Plakoton on the Akrotiri Peninsula in Cyprus.²¹ Surrounded by large geometric panels, the only figural floor mosaic in the church represents two deer flanking a *kantharos* with a burgeoning grapevine in an architectural setting. Though very similar in appearance to the other floor mosaics, the mosaic lacks an assortment of living creatures, a garden and a clear source of water. However, the presence of water may have been taken for granted. In his description of the lateral apse mosaics of the Church of St Sergios in Gaza, the sixth-century orator Choricus

imagines that the vessels with burgeoning vines also contained ‘cool water.’²² In this context, however, one can only conclude that the mosaic employs the imagery of the psalm in relation to Christ, the true vine (John 15:1), or the eucharist, and not explicitly in relation to Paradise.²³

A sixth-century marble relief in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, known only to have come from a parapet in Ankara, contains many of the same motifs found in floor mosaics (fig. 11.2).²⁴ Like the gates of Paradise at Stobi and Heraklea, the relief is characterised by a pattern of imbricated scales. The scales are inscribed with plant and aquatic life, including confronted water birds, fish and dolphins, which surround a vessel and a shell on the central axis. Above the vessel, a carefully drilled hole and mortise may have accommodated a water pipe, transforming the vessel into a source for an actual fountain or baptismal font.²⁵ In a Christian context, the panel could represent a schematic view of the garden or waters of Paradise through an openwork screen,²⁶ especially if creatures of the land and air appeared on adjacent slabs. Alternatively, the relief could represent other ‘living waters’ of the Bible with the scales approximating a series of waves.²⁷ Associated with a secular fountain or bath, however, the same elements could constitute a simple marine scene inspired by the presence of water.

Without clear visual cues and a compelling context, it can be very difficult to distinguish images of the earthly Paradise from images of God’s Creation



Fig 11.3. Kiti, Church of the Panagia Angeloktistos, apse mosaic.

Photograph: Brooke Shilling.

on earth and therefore paradisiacal from terrestrial fountains. In early Christian tombs, countless images of birds flanking vessels probably convey the blessings of Paradise in the afterlife; in churches, however, the same images are too summary and too vague to support a specific interpretation. Even the distinctive four rivers of Paradise do not always indicate a setting in Paradise, particularly when they are represented as personifications.²⁸ With a few exceptions, the Ohrid baptistery among them, personifications tend to be used in compositions celebrating the earth and its abundance – not Paradise – with its changing seasons, months of the year and labours.²⁹ Before many of its figures were destroyed by iconoclasts, the floor mosaic of the Chapel of the Martyr Theodore in Madaba (AD 562) represented the creatures and produce of the earth, including musicians, quadrupeds, birds, and baskets of fruit.³⁰ Inscribed within a geometric interlace, the figures were surrounded by the ocean, signified by fish and water birds at the perimeter of the main field. The placement of the personified rivers at the four corners of the mosaic reflected the widespread idea that the four rivers of Paradise flowed out of Eden, under the ocean surrounding the earth, and into the four rivers of the inhabited world: the Ganges or the Danube (Phison), the Nile (Gehon), the Tigris and the Euphrates. The process was visualised in a sixth-century map of the world by Cosmas Indicopleustes, which is preserved in a ninth-century copy of the *Christian Topography*.³¹ Although the rivers, living creatures and fruits also belong to the earthly Paradise, the cosmographical layout of the main field and the presence of ordinary humans are clear signs of God's Creation on earth. An emphasis on the paradisiacal origin of the rivers, rather than their earthly destination, was perhaps best represented not by pagan personifications, but by four streams of water.

The ambiguity that modern observers find so troubling was put to extremely effective use by early Byzantine artists. One of the best examples of the theme in terms of its allegorical complexity comes from the island of Cyprus. Most likely produced in the second half of the sixth century, the apse mosaic of the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti represents a standing Virgin and Child flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel against a flat gold background (fig. 11.3).³² Seated on his mother's left arm, the Christ Child holds a scroll in his left hand and gestures with his right. Approaching the pair on either side, the archangels hold staffs, indicative of their ceremonial role, and present translucent orbs to the Christ Child.³³ Located in the soffit of the apse, the conspicuous upper border of the mosaic illustrates a total of six fountains flanked by pairs of confronted or addorsed animals or birds (fig. 11.4). The fountains are signified by slender, handleless vessels and are

divided into groups of three by a radiating cross at the apex of the arch. Selected in part because of the narrow space of the arch, this type of vessel with a wide mouth, narrow neck, and ovoid body was traditionally used for water or wine.³⁴ Enveloped in acanthus leaves, half-length ducks drink from the first set of fountains; beribboned parrots drink from the second set of fountains; and stags emerge from behind the third set of fountains closest to the central cross. They symbolise the living creatures of the water, air



Fig 11.4. Kiti, Church of the Panagia Angeloktistos, apse mosaic, detail of border. Photograph: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC (with permission).



Fig 11.5. Khirbat al-Mukkhayat, Upper Chapel of the Priest John, nave, floor mosaic. Photograph: Courtesy of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Mt. Nebo, and the American Center of Oriental Research, Amman.

and land, which God created on the fifth and sixth days. At the base of the arch, tripods serve as platforms for the lowermost acanthus cups. There are no gates and no rivers. One important detail not seen in other examples is the fluttering ribbon around the neck of the parrot, which is derived from the royal Persian *pativ*.³⁵ As a sign of domestication, it recalls the peaceful nature of the animals in Paradise, which God placed under the dominion of Adam (Genesis 2:19–20).³⁶ By neglecting the more explicit imagery of Paradise, however, the artist preserves the ambiguity of the image and succeeds in representing both Creation and the earthly Paradise, effectively expanding the range of interpretation.

In its incorporation of the waters of Paradise, the apse mosaic at Kiti is consistent with other early Christian apse mosaics, although its iconography has more in common with church floors, where deer, birds, and ducks frequently delight in the fountain of Paradise.³⁷ In the form of flowing streams, the four rivers of Paradise emerge from beneath the throne or feet of Christ or the Lamb in the *Traditio Legis* mosaic at Santa Costanza in Rome, in the lost apse mosaic of the basilica of St Felix at Nola, and in the main apse mosaics of Sts Cosmas and Damian in Rome, San Vitale in Ravenna and Hosios David in Thessalonike. In these works and at Kiti, the waters function as more than topographical indicators. Following the lead of the Bible in relation to the fountain of life and living waters,³⁸ Christian artists allegorised the waters of Paradise in the same manner as Christian writers. Illustrations of the waters therefore reflect specific interpretations in exegetical texts, where the fountain, the river or the source of living waters was compared to Christ, the church, or the Virgin Mary, and the four rivers were compared to the four Gospels or the four Evangelists.³⁹ In some cases, the allegory was revealed in an inscription,⁴⁰ while in others, including the Kiti mosaic, the meaning of the waters was determined by context alone.

Most scholarship on the mosaic at Kiti has treated the imagery of the border in isolation, obscuring its function and significance as a visual commentary on the principal theme of the Virgin and Child.⁴¹ In general, the iconography of the border recalls the metaphors of nature, springtime and fertility that served to praise the Virgin Mary in early homilies and hymns.⁴² Many of these metaphors were derived from scripture, so that the Virgin was often compared to the garden of Paradise and its source, the flowering rod of Aaron (Numbers 17:8) or Jesse (Isaiah 11:1), the bush that burned but was not consumed (Exodus 3:2), the rock from which Moses drew water (Numbers 20:11), the uncut mountain of Daniel (Daniel 2:45) and the enclosed garden and the sealed fountain of the Song of Songs (Song of Solomon 4:12). Such comparisons were determined by a typological reading of the Old Testament, but Byzantine rhetoric also went beyond scripture.⁴³ In the well-known Akathistos hymn, the Virgin is hailed as 'the flower of incorruption' and 'the tree of glorious fruit'; her womb is a 'sweet field for all who are willing to harvest salvation'.⁴⁴ For the fifth-century bishop Proklos of Constantinople, the Virgin was at once the 'seedless earth, which blossomed with the fruit of salvation', and 'more glorious than Paradise, for Paradise was merely the planting of God, but she cultivated God himself in the flesh'.⁴⁵ According to the sixth-century Syriac poet Jacob of Serug, Mary was chosen to be the bearer of all Creation.⁴⁶ Although such metaphors are common in early Byzantine texts dedicated to the Virgin, contemporary images of

the Virgin or Virgin and Child are embellished only occasionally with luxuriant plant, animal and aquatic life.⁴⁷ A parallel for the mosaic at Kiti is found in a gold bracelet at the British Museum, which was made around 600 and was once part of a pair.⁴⁸ The medallion contains a bust of the orant Virgin, while the openwork hoop displays a vine scroll, inhabited by peacocks and swans, issuing from a central vase. Likewise, the wall mosaics of the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč, dated to the mid-sixth century, incorporate aquatic imagery without animals or birds.⁴⁹ On the apse wall, adjoining three depictions of the Virgin Mary, a wide horizontal border portrays a series of shells alongside discs of mother-of-pearl. The border extends below the apse mosaic of the enthroned Virgin and Child and above scenes of the Annunciation and the Visitation on the north and south walls of the apse.

At Kiti, the rendering of the fountain as a vessel has special significance for the Virgin Mary. The motif of the vessel occurs repeatedly in homilies and hymns as a metaphor for her womb. In the Akathistos Hymn, Mary is the 'container of the uncontainable God' (15.6: χώρα ἀχωρήτου), the 'receptacle of the wisdom of God' (17.6: δοχεῖον), the 'basin that washes clean the conscience' (21.14: λουτήρ), and the 'bowl wherein is mixed the wine of mighty joy' (21.15: κρατήρ).⁵⁰ In Proklos' first homily, she is 'the untarnished vessel (κειμήλιον) of virginity'.⁵¹ The same term appears in a homily of Pseudo-Epiphanius, who praises her repeatedly as the vessel of divine dispensation, the vessel of the church, and the vessel of Paradise.⁵² A different term is used in a lengthy sermon on the Annunciation falsely attributed to Basil of Seleucia, in which the author praises the Virgin as a vessel (σκεῦος) 'who contained the Heavenly Bread in her womb'.⁵³ As such, she is superior to the golden jar (στάμνος), which contained the manna from heaven. In later Byzantine art, the vessel could take the form of a yarn bowl, replacing or accompanying the traditional woven basket in scenes of the Annunciation.⁵⁴ This element was inspired by the popular *Protoevangelion of James*, in which Gabriel first approaches Mary at a well where she is collecting water. Fearing him as a stranger, she returns home and begins spinning, when he approaches her again and she concedes to the will of God. Thus, the vessel alludes simultaneously to the apocryphal narrative and to the favoured metaphors of Byzantine writers.

Another vessel equated with the womb of the Virgin in sermons is the baptismal font (κολυμβήθρα). In his fourth sermon on the Nativity, Pope Leo the Great (440–61) explains: 'And for every man coming to a rebirth, the water of baptism is an image of the virginal womb whereby the same Holy Spirit who also impregnated the Virgin impregnates the font; just as the sacred conception casts out sin in that place, so here mystic ablution

takes it away.⁵⁵ Even before the Council of Ephesos, Didymos of Alexandria (d. 398) described the Virgin as both the font and the Second Eve: 'For she is the baptismal font of the Trinity, the workshop of salvation of all believers; and those who bathe therein she frees from the bite of the serpent and she becomes mother of all, a virgin dwelling in the Holy Spirit.'⁵⁶ In the Akathistos Hymn, Mary is seen as the type or prefiguration of the baptismal font.⁵⁷ The interpretation is reinforced by the deer at Kiti, whose connection with Psalm 41 (42) has already been established.

An emphasis on the waters of Paradise or the living waters contained in the womb of the Virgin is eloquently expressed in other works. The eighth-century homilist Andrew of Crete draws directly on Genesis 2:10 as he addresses the Virgin in a homily on the Annunciation: 'He, like a river, flowing out of your life-bearing womb with ineffable power, irrigates the face of the inhabited world with four sources.'⁵⁸ In a sixth-century poem on the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, Jacob of Serug writes: 'The rock which brought forth streams cannot be compared to you, because living waters go forth from you to the whole world.'⁵⁹ In the fifth century, Hesychios of Jerusalem described the Virgin as the 'sealed fountain (πηγήν ἐσφραγισμένην)' foretold in the Song of Songs: 'A "sealed fountain," because a river of life came forth from you and filled up the world, but a bridal branch did not drain dry your fountain.'⁶⁰ In this verse, Hesychios combines the epithet of the Song of Songs with the fountain and river of Genesis. At times, the Virgin is regarded as both the source and the waters of life, a paradox embedded in, if not fully explained by the Greek word πηγή, which embraces fountain, spring and source, denoting origin. For as her role in Christian doctrine was elaborated, much of the symbolism applied to Christ was also applied to Mary.⁶¹ Thus, in the Akathistos Hymn, she is said to have 'quenched the worship of fire' and '[made] the many-streamed river gush forth'; she is the both the 'sea that drowned the spiritual Pharaoh' and the 'rock, giving water to those who thirst for life.'⁶²

In addition to serving as elaborate forms of praise, these metaphors convey the Christian idea that nature was renewed and sanctified through the coming of Christ.⁶³ Of course, the concept of renewal was also expressed openly by Christian writers, who endeavoured to praise God's Creation even as they condemned the pagan worship of nature gods. Composed in the fourth century, Ephrem the Syrian's seventeenth hymn on the Nativity says of Christ: 'He is the Son of the Creator who came to restore the whole Creation. He renewed the sky since fools worshipped all the luminaries. He renewed the earth that had grown old because of Adam. A new Creation came to be by His spittle [i.e. miracles], and the All-sufficient set straight

bodies and minds.’⁶⁴ The renewal of Creation was attributed first and foremost to Christ, but in the fifth and sixth centuries increasingly involved the Virgin Mary. After praising the Virgin as the ‘fountain of immortality’, the sixth-century patriarch Anastasios of Antioch describes the Annunciation to the Virgin as ‘the birthday of the whole world: because all things have been returned to order: and the old disorder received order, because the one who formed us has become like us on account of us, renewing his old and corrupted image, and transforming it into an abundance of beauty’.⁶⁵ According to Anastasios, the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March coincided with the anniversary of the creation of man on the sixth day, for light was separated from darkness on 20 March, the spring equinox.⁶⁶ Thus, man was restored as the Word became flesh on the same day that he was created. The concept was eventually extended to Anna’s conception of the Virgin, which took place in a garden according to the apocryphal *Protoevangelion*. An eighth-century homily by John of Euboea proclaims the restoration of the garden of Paradise on this occasion: ‘Behold, the good news of happiness in a garden, that the garden of old might be returned to humanity!’⁶⁷

When elements of Creation are not employed as metaphors in Byzantine homilies, they are typically personified and rejoice in gratitude for their collective rebirth. In Proklos’ fourth homily on the Nativity, not only the Magi but the whole created world offers its gifts to the Child: the earth, the rocks, the mountains, the cities, the winds, the seas, the waves, the fish, the waters, the wells (αἱ πηγαί), the wilderness, the beasts, the birds, men and women of all professions and persuasions, the trees, the wood, the air and the heavens.⁶⁸ Even on the occasion of Mary’s Dormition, Jacob of Serug describes the elements of Creation, both animate and inanimate, that were roused as she was laid to rest:

New sounds were heard from all the birds; which were chanting in ranks according to their natures. All living creatures made a joyful sound of praise in their places; all the earth was stirred by their shouts of joy. The heavens and the mountains and all the plains which were adorned, broke forth in praise when the virginal body was being laid in the grave. All trees with their fruits and produce were sprinkled with dew, the sweet fragrance of their gladness. All the flowers which were beautiful in their variety, sent forth perfume like sweet spices sending forth fragrance. The waters and the fish and all creeping things within the sea, were aware of this day and were moved to praise. All creatures silent or eloquent, according to their natures rendered the praise which was due.⁶⁹

While the imagery of the Kiti border expresses the fertility of the Virgin, the renewal of Creation and the restoration of Paradise, it also encourages

analogies with depictions of Earth or Ge that enhance the metaphorical and eucharistic significance of the mosaic. It has already been observed that contemporary images of the Virgin were accompanied only occasionally by plant, animal and aquatic life. Far more often in the ecclesiastical and domestic art of the period, female personifications of nature, including the Earth, the Sea and the Seasons were surrounded by living creatures of the land, air and water. In scholarship, the Virgin Mary has been compared to pagan goddesses such as Isis, Tyche and Athena, but her relationship to nature personifications has received much less attention, at least in the realm of the visual arts.⁷⁰ By concentrating here on the figure of Earth, we can see how the Christian concept of renewal was also implied by appropriation and formal assimilation in the apse mosaic at Kiti.

The sixth-century floor mosaic in the Upper Chapel of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Mukkhayat in Jordan shows a woman identified as Earth (ΓΗ) in the context of an inhabited acanthus scroll (fig. 11.5).⁷¹ Represented in bust form, she holds an assortment of fruit in her crescent-shaped mantle, while a pair of fruit-bearers (*karpophoroi*) approach her with offerings. Creatures of the land populate the scroll around her, including a lion, a bear, a sheep, a boar, a dog and a few people working the land or fending off wild animals.⁷² In the interstices of the scroll immediately below her, two fish signify the ocean or the waters.⁷³ Elsewhere, baskets of bread, fruit and flowers display the Earth's produce. The meander border of the pavement contains various species of birds and busts of donors. To the east of the main field, still within the meander border, a dedicatory inscription is framed by an architectural façade, flanked by two peacocks, two chickens and two trees. Formal similarities between the central groups at Kiti and Khirbat al-Mukkhayat are clear (figs. 11.3, 11.5). Both the Virgin and the Earth are depicted frontally, holding out their respective gifts to the world. On either side, young men advance in three-quarter poses to present offerings. Most importantly, the figures are surrounded by living creatures enveloped in acanthus leaves. In light of these basic similarities, significant differences between the two mosaics are particularly revealing. Whereas the Earth presents her fruits, consisting of watermelon, grapes and squash, the Virgin presents the Christ Child, who is described metaphorically in Luke 1:42 as the fruit of her womb and in countless homilies as the fruit of the seedless earth. Secondly, while the *karpophoroi* offer baskets of fruit to the Earth, the archangels Michael and Gabriel offer glass orbs, symbols of earthly *and* heavenly dominion, to the Christ Child. Finally, the Earth is richly adorned with pearls and a fruited crown, signs of her abundance, while the Virgin, ever humble, needs no such adornments, for she is rich



Fig 11.6. Jerash, Church of the Bishop Isaiah, chancel, floor mosaic.

Photograph: Courtesy of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Mt. Nebo, and the American Center of Oriental Research, Amman.

in spiritual blessings. Thus, the Virgin at Kiti appears to have inherited and superseded the bounty and fertility of Mother Earth.

Similar personifications of Earth and the subservient *karpophoroi* appear in the nave mosaic of the Church of St George (535/6), also in Khirbat al-Mukkhayat, and in the chancel mosaic of the Church of the Bishop Isaiah in Jerash (fig. 11.6).⁷⁴ The latter mosaic is divided into four quadrants by four fruit-bearing trees and grapevines, which sprout from acanthus cups in the four corners of the mosaic. All of the figures have been destroyed by iconoclasts, but one can still decipher the mantle of Earth and one of the two fruit-bearers in the western quadrant. Two gazelles and two deer occupy the north and south quadrants, while a single vessel flanked by two peacocks hovers above the head of Earth in the eastern quadrant. Three of these motifs, the deer, the vessel and the acanthus cups, feature in the Kiti

border. The placement of the mosaic in front of the apse would have enabled a direct comparison with an image of the Virgin and Child flanked by archangels, if such an image existed there. Unfortunately, the upper walls of the Church of the Bishop Isaiah do not survive. Nevertheless, the early Byzantine observer was probably familiar enough with the figure of Earth and other prolific female personifications in ecclesiastical and domestic contexts that the analogy would have been readily apparent.⁷⁵

Likewise, the contemporary audience would have been familiar with homilies and hymns in which the Virgin was praised as the seedless earth, the unsown field and the untilled valley. As cited above, Proklos' fourth homily on the Nativity refers to the Virgin as the 'seedless earth (γῆς ἀσπόρου), which blossomed with the fruit of salvation (καρπὸν σωτήριον).'⁷⁶ This fruit is defined as a cluster of grapes in homilies on the Annunciation and Visitation by Jacob of Serug, where the Virgin becomes the unpruned or uncultivated vine.⁷⁷ In another homily, Proklos celebrates the Virgin as a 'field (ἀρουρά), in which Christ, nature's farmer, sprouted forth unsown (ἀσπόρως ἐβλάστησεν) as an ear of corn (στάχυς)!'⁷⁸ Similar language appears in a spurious homily of John Chrysostomos on the Nativity, where the Virgin is compared to an 'unreaped field (ἀθέριστος ἀρουρά)' which yields 'heavenly corn (στάχυος).'⁷⁹ It is perhaps worth noting that the personification of Earth in the floor mosaic of the Church of the Bishop Sergios at Umm al-Rasas (587/8) is accompanied by *karpophoroi*, who offer her apples and ears of corn.⁸⁰ Yet another metaphor in a sermon by Pseudo-Epiphanius calls the Virgin the 'untilled land (ἡ ἀγεώργητος χώρα), which received the Word as a grain of wheat (κόκκον σίτου).'⁸¹ Proklos also describes Christ as a grain of wheat, risen from the untilled valley or plain: 'Today the seedless grain of wheat (ἀσπόρος κόκκος) has sprouted forth from the untilled valley (ἀγεωργήτου πεδιάδος), and the starving world rejoices.'⁸² The starving world of Proklos will be fed not by the physical food of the Earth but by the spiritual food of Christ, derived in part from John 6:35, where Christ declares himself the bread of life.⁸³ Food metaphors in general were associated with the eucharist, but especially those involving grapes and grain. In the apse mosaic at Kiti, where the Virgin and Child are likened to the Earth and her fruits through the presence of living creatures, shared between the earth and the earthly Paradise, the eucharistic significance of the central group becomes even more pronounced. One should also recall in this connection that the fountains of the border are composed of handleless vessels commonly used for wine as well as water. Thus, the virgin earth, vine or field offers her fruit, grapes or grain to the Christian faithful in the sanctuary of the church, the site of the eucharist.

In early Byzantine homilies and hymns, the Virgin Mary is likened repeatedly to the physical world, including the earthly Paradise and its fountain, just as Creation, newly sanctified, joins to celebrate the coming of the Lord through her. While the mosaic at Kiti conforms to a tradition of illustrating the waters of Paradise in apse mosaics, the portrayal of the fountain instead of the four rivers was designed to complement the new theme of the Virgin and Child, which became more common in apse decoration in the sixth century.⁸⁴ Except for the most detailed examples of the theme in the floor mosaics of Byzantine Macedonia, the image of the fountain of Paradise retained the ambiguity of the Genesis text and remained one and the same as God's primordial fountain on earth. It is precisely this ambiguity, however, that allowed the allegory of the fountain in early Byzantine art to flourish and bear fruit.

Notes

- 1 Hymn 2.9 in Brock 1990: 88. For other references to the fountain in his works, see Brock 1990: 2.8, 87–8, 11.12, 158; Daniélou 1953: 451–2.
- 2 Homily on John 46:4 in NPNF 1, vol. 14, 167; Louth and Oden 2001: 59. For others, including Ambrose, Avitus and Cosmas Indicopleustes, see Savage 1961: 294–9; H. Maguire 1987b: 37; Underwood 1950: 46–9.
- 3 Some writers, however, did not believe in the physical existence of Paradise. On literal and allegorical interpretations of the earthly Paradise: Daniélou 1953; H. Maguire 1987a, 1987b; Scafi 2006: 32–43.
- 4 The appearance of Adam clothed and enthroned in three Syrian floor mosaics presents an allegorical interpretation of Paradise, where Adam has been returned to a state of glory by Christ: H. Maguire 1987a. Literal representations of Adam and Eve in Paradise, corresponding to the biblical text, are more prominent in the catacombs and other tombs, on sarcophagi, and in the so-called minor arts than in monumental ecclesiastical art.
- 5 On the title, 'fountain of life', see Underwood 1950: 45–9.
- 6 Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1986. For examples of the theme elsewhere: Velmans 1969; Underwood 1950.
- 7 Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1975: 55–65. At the entrance to the baptistery, between the rivers Gehon and Euphrates, the mosaic contains an obliterated inscription, which left no room for a fourth fountain, pace Velmans 1969: 34. On the date of the mosaic: Kolarik 1982: 426–8, 502 n. 221, 503 n. 229.
- 8 Full-page manuscript illuminations in the Carolingian Godescalc Lectionary (Paris B. N. cod. lat. 1203, fol. 3v.) and the Soissons Gospels (Paris B. N. cod. lat. 8850, fol. 6v.) represent the fountain of Paradise as a hexagonal basin with a domed canopy set on eight columns, modelled on the fifth-century baptismal

font of the Lateran Baptistery in Rome. The hexagonal fountains of the Ohrid Baptistery lack the columns and canopy of the Lateran font, suggesting they were meant to resemble baptismal fonts in general, rather than the Lateran font in particular. On the Carolingian manuscripts: Underwood 1950: 44–54. Note that the Godescalc fountain has eight columns, although its hexagonal shape is less clear due to a lack of perspective.

- 9 At least one of the spouts is shaped like a lion's head. See the chapter by Eunice Maguire in this volume.
- 10 Compare the fragmentary wall mosaic from the Church of the Acheiropoietos, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessalonike, which represents four streams issuing from a fountain, two from the finial and two from the hill-ock below: Frings 2010: 337–8, no. 450. In the floor mosaic of the baptistery of Oued Ramel in Tunisia, the four rivers flow from a shell extending from the baptismal font itself. On the opposite side of the font, two peacocks flank a *kanttharos*: Gaulkler 1913: 20–3, pl. XVIII.
- 11 Like Grabar's image-signs in the early Christian catacombs, minimal figures could signify an entire narrative: A. Grabar 1968: 7–30.
- 12 Kolarik 1982: 102–18.
- 13 The north-west quadrant with two deer and two black birds also includes two ducks below the stylized leaves at the base of the vessel.
- 14 Tomašević 1975: 394–7, pl. CXCI.1; Kolarik 1982: 458–60, 517, nn. 331, 338, figs. 740–1. Colour plate: Gjorgievska 2008: 60.
- 15 As water birds, ducks are classed among creatures of the waters in floor mosaics and textiles depicting the earth and ocean as separate entities: H. Maguire 1987b: 22, 29, 35, 36, 62, 75. See also Elbern 1987.
- 16 Underwood 1950: 51–2.
- 17 Davis 1989: 18.
- 18 Dyggve 1951: 31–3, figs. II, 25–30.
- 19 On cypress trees and Paradise, see the chapter by Federica Broilo in this volume.
- 20 Michaelides 1987: 34–5, pl. 16.
- 21 See now Procopiou 2014.
- 22 Mango 1972: 62.
- 23 Puech 1949; H. Maguire 1987b: 38–9.
- 24 Mendel 1912–14: 513–14, no. 714; Firatlı 1990: 156–7, no. 309; Noga-Banai and Safran 2011: 20–1.
- 25 Of course, the date of the hole cannot be determined.
- 26 Cf. H. Maguire 2012: 97–8.
- 27 Cf. Drewer 1981.
- 28 On the four rivers of Paradise: Février 1956; Djurić 1989; H. Maguire 1987b: 23–8, 44–8; H. Maguire 1999. See also the paper by Henry Maguire in this volume.
- 29 H. Maguire 1987b: 23–8; H. Maguire 1999. However, a distinction might be made between the masks at Ohrid and the full-length, half-nude personifications seen elsewhere. Note that masks symbolizing the four rivers are also found

- without inscriptions in the floor mosaic of the baptistery at Mariana in Corsica: Moracchini 1962: 150–8.
- 30 Piccirillo 1989: 26–30; 1993: 117.
- 31 Wolska-Conus 1968–73; Kominko 2008.
- 32 Megaw 1985; Michaelides 1987: 55–6; Foulías 2004; Foulías 2008; Fischer 2007; Shilling 2013.
- 33 The archangels' staffs recall those of imperial palace guards, in particular the *ostiarios*: Vogt, 1935: 1.7.18–19, vol. I, commentary, 43.
- 34 Mundell Mango 1986: 257–8, no. 86; Spier 2007: 250, no. 73; Weitzmann 1979: 153–4, 431–3, 441–2, nos. 131, 389, 400. One scholar argues that the vessels do not contain water but plants, excluding any relationship to the fountain of life and Psalm 41 (42): Fischer 2007: 190 n. 114. While it is indeed difficult to tell whether fine streams of water or plants issue from the vessels, contemporary viewers would not have had the benefit of detailed photographs and would surely have recognized the type of vessel. They also routinely equated vessels with fountains. Consider the comment of Choricus on the lateral apses of St Sergios and the conversion of the vessel into a fountain on the Istanbul relief above.
- 35 The motif enters Byzantine art in the late fifth century: Gonosová 2000; Kondoleon 2000: 133–40, nos. 20–6.
- 36 On the harmony of the animals in Paradise as depicted in art and literature: H. Maguire 1987a: 365–6.
- 37 The historical association of apses with water is explored by Brenk 2010: 13–29.
- 38 Gen. 2:6, 2:10; Ps. 36:9, 42:1; Isa. 12:3, 44:3, 49:10, 55:1, 58:11; Ezek. 47:9; Joel 3:18; Jer. 2:13, 17:13; Zech. 14:8; John 4:10–14, 7:37–8; Rev. 7:17, 21:6, 22:1–2, 22:17.
- 39 Other allegorical interpretations were also possible. St Ambrose e.g. associated Paradise with the soul, the fountain with Christ, and the four rivers with the virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice: Savage 1961: 294–9.
- 40 Such an inscription was written by Paulinus of Nola for the lost apse mosaic of the basilica of St Felix at Nola. Preserved in a letter of 403, the fourteen-line Latin poem identifies the theme of the mosaic as the Trinity, showing Christ as a lamb, the Holy Ghost as a dove and the thundering voice of the Father, doubtless pictured as a hand emerging from the clouds. The last lines of the poem instruct the viewer to recognize Christ as the source of the four rivers, and the four rivers as the four Evangelists: 'He Himself, the Rock of the Church, is standing on a rock from which four seething springs issue, the Evangelists, the living streams of Christ.' See Engemann 1974. For the English translation of the poem: Davis-Weyer 1971: 20–3. At Hosios David, distinct visual and textual metaphors proclaim the unity of Christ and the church as the living source: Spieser 1995.
- 41 Megaw 1985; Fischer 2007; Foulías 2004; Foulías 2008. See however H. Maguire 2012: 79–81.
- 42 Metaphors of nature are found especially in sermons on the Annunciation, based on the springtime celebration of the feast: H. Maguire 1981: 44–52. Arguments

- for the date of the feast on 25 March first appear in the sixth-century homilies of Anastasius of Antioch and Abramius of Ephesos: P. Allen 1998: 207. See also the chapter by Helena Bodin in this volume.
- 43 Cunningham 2004: 52–62.
 - 44 Peltomaa 2001: 6–7, 12–13.
 - 45 Hom. 4.1.9–12 in Constan 2003: 226–7.
 - 46 Hom. 1 in Hansbury 1998: 20.
 - 47 On the disparity between the visual and textual material: H. Maguire 2012: 78–98. Only textiles, which often employ floral motifs as repeat patterns, apply such motifs with any regularity to narrative and iconic images of the Virgin Mary. See Rutschowskaya 2000; Vassilaki 2000: 273–5, nos. 8–9.
 - 48 Buckton 1994: 95–6, no. 99; Vassilaki 2000: 292, no. 11.
 - 49 Terry and Maguire 2007.
 - 50 Peltomaa 2001: 12–17. I have translated δοχεῖον as ‘receptacle’ instead of ‘vessel’.
 - 51 Hom. 1.1.14 in Constan 2003: 136–7.
 - 52 *In Laudes Sanctae Mariae Deiparae, Homilia V*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 43, cols. 489A, 497A, 501A.
 - 53 *Oratio XXXIX*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 85, col. 449B. More recently, the sermon has been attributed to Proklos: Marx 1940: 84–9, cited in Constan 2003: 292 n. 60. See also Peltomaa 2001: 77–85 on the relationship between the homily and the Akathistos Hymn.
 - 54 Evangelatou 2003: 266–70. See also Constan 2003: 315–58.
 - 55 *Sermo XXIV*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 54, col. 206A, cited and tr. in Underwood 1950: 63. Underwood takes the same Leo to be the author of the poem inscribed on the epistyle of the baptismal font at the Lateran. The inscription refers to the font as the ‘fountain of life, which purges the whole world’ (verse f), as well as the ‘virginal womb’ of ‘Mother Church’ (verse d); its waters are also said to be ‘impregnated’ (verse a): Underwood 1950: 55–61.
 - 56 *De Trinitate Liber Secundus*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 39, col. 692A, cited and tr. in Peltomaa 2001: 132–4.
 - 57 Peltomaa 2001: 16–17.
 - 58 Cunningham 2008: 209.
 - 59 Hom. 3 in Hansbury 1998: 80.
 - 60 Hom. 5.2.29–37 in Aubineau 1978: vol. I, 162–3. Compare also Hom. 5.2.14–16 in Aubineau 1978: vol. I, 160–1.
 - 61 Cf. Cunningham 2007: 235–44.
 - 62 Peltomaa 2001: 8–11, 16–17.
 - 63 H. Maguire 2012: 62–7.
 - 64 Hymn 17, Strophe 11–12 in McVey 1989: 156.
 - 65 *In Annuntiationem S. Mariae, Sermo II*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 89, cols. 1377B, 1384D–1385A.
 - 66 *In Annuntiationem S. Mariae, Sermo II*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 89, cols. 1381C–1384B.

- 67 Cunningham 2008: 176.
- 68 Conostas 2003: 234–5.
- 69 Hom. 5 in Hansbury 1998: 96.
- 70 Benko 2004: esp. 206–16; Isis: Mathews and Muller 2005; Witt 1997: 269–81; Tyche and Rhea: Limberis 1994: 121–42; Tyche and Victoria: Pentcheva 2006: 11–35; Athena: Kaldellis 2013. See also James 2005.
- 71 Piccirillo 1989: 189–92; Piccirillo 1993: 38, 166–75, esp. 174–5.
- 72 On the relationship of the people to the land and animals in the mosaic: H. Maguire 1987b: 69–72.
- 73 When the Earth and Ocean appear together, the personification of Earth is typically surrounded by the Ocean or placed immediately above the Ocean: H. Maguire 1987b: 17–30; 1987c.
- 74 Piccirillo 1989: 177–81; 1993: 178–9, 294–5. Two smaller *karpophoroi* stood on the same side of the personification of Earth in the nave mosaic of the Church of the Bishop Sergios at Umm al-Rasas (587/8), where they were destroyed by iconoclasts: Piccirillo 1989: 273–82, esp. 278–9; 1993: 38, 234–5.
- 75 On the Earth and other female personifications in textiles: H. Maguire 1987c; Maguire, Maguire and Duncan-Flowers 1989: 13–14. See also the personification of Thalassa in the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, where an inscription invokes God as the Creator of heaven and earth in a prayer for the donors and mosaicist: Piccirillo 1989: 96–107, esp. 105; 1993: 96–107, esp. 106–7.
- 76 Hom. 4.1.9–10 in Conostas 2003: 226–7.
- 77 Hom. 2 and 3 in Hansbury 1998: 45, 70.
- 78 Hom. 1.3.59–60 in Conostas 2003: 138–9.
- 79 *In Christi Natalem Diem*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 59, col. 737.
- 80 Piccirillo 1989: 273–82, esp. 278–9; 1993: 38, 234–5.
- 81 *In Laudes Sanctae Mariae Deiparae, Homilia V*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 43, col. 492D.
- 82 Hom. 4.3.97–9 in Conostas 2003: 234–5.
- 83 Cunningham 2007.
- 84 Ihm 1960; Spieser 1998; Brenk 2010.

12 | Where did the waters of Paradise go after iconoclasm?

HENRY MAGUIRE

The intention of this chapter is to look at depictions of water and fountains in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, but not at the cult of water *per se*. In pre-iconoclastic churches, images of water and aquatic life were associated especially with the Rivers of Paradise, often as symbols of the four Gospels, and, to a lesser degree, with the Virgin Mary. In what follows, I shall explore the representation of water in post-iconoclastic iconography, considering first the Rivers of Paradise, and then the role of water in portrayals of the Virgin during the same period.

The Rivers of Paradise were frequently depicted in pre-iconoclastic churches, either as personifications, or as streams of water accompanied by riverine motifs. The well-preserved late fifth-century mosaic of the basilica of Thyrsos at Tegea in the Peloponnese provides an example of the rivers portrayed in the form of personifications. Here the composition is a map, with a central rectangle representing earth, and a border depicting the surrounding ocean. The border is filled with octagons containing various sea creatures, while the central rectangle presents twelve busts of the months, each holding the produce appropriate to his season. In the four corners of the earth we find the Rivers of Paradise, Gehon or the Nile, Phison, Tigris and Euphrates, each portrayed in bust form and holding an attribute of plenty.¹ These rivers were believed to have their origin in the fountain in the earthly paradise, but they also, through an elaborate system of subterranean plumbing, turned into the four main rivers of the inhabited earth, so that mortals could have the benefit of them.² For an example of the four Rivers of Paradise illustrated by means of riverine motifs, rather than personifications, we can look at the well-known mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna, where the rivers accompany the Evangelists. At San Vitale the Evangelists flank the openings of the galleries at the four corners of the sanctuary. Their position associates them with the rich canopy of plants, birds and beasts that appears on the walls and vaults above them. They sit in rocky landscapes, with water flowing beneath their feet. Marsh and river birds, such as ducks and herons, can be seen wading in the streams.³ Early Christian writers associated the four Rivers of Paradise with the Evangelists, whose teachings irrigated the whole world.⁴ It is likely, then, that the riverine scenes beneath

the four Evangelists at San Vitale represented the message of their Gospels watering the four corners of the earth, evoked through the plant and animal imagery in the vault above. In other words, just as at Tegea, we have a kind of map, but this time on the ceiling rather than on the floor.

After iconoclasm the Rivers of Paradise virtually disappeared from the decoration of Byzantine churches, although they continued to be shown frequently in ecclesiastical interiors in the West. At San Marco in Venice, for example, we find personifications of the four Rivers of Paradise beneath the mosaics of the Evangelists in the pendentives of the central dome. They are shown as scantily clad men with doleful faces pirouetting in pools of water that have flowed from their upturned vases.⁵ In spite of their somewhat outlandish appearance, they were evidently intended to evoke classical models. Somewhat less outré depictions of the four Rivers of Paradise can be found in the late eleventh-century frescoes of the narthex of the monastery church of San Pietro al Monte at Civate, near Lake Como in northern Italy. Here the rivers are personified as kneeling youths pouring out water from large vases.⁶ We encounter similar depictions of the four rivers in the Romanesque and Gothic art of northern Europe. In bronze sculpture, they grace the bases of monuments such as the early eleventh-century bronze column in the Cathedral of Hildesheim,⁷ or the early thirteenth-century Trivulzio Candelabrum in the Cathedral of Milan.⁸ In the realm of painting, they appear in the splendid decoration of the ceiling over the nave of St Michael's Church in Hildesheim. In this composition, the personifications of the rivers are portrayed in association with portraits of the Evangelists writing at their desks, as at San Vitale.⁹

There is nothing of this kind in the post-iconoclastic churches of Byzantium, where the Rivers of Paradise are conspicuously absent.¹⁰ In the many depictions of paradise that accompany medieval Byzantine mosaics and frescoes of the Last Judgment, the four streams of water are missing. The only river to be seen is the river of fire that consumes the sinners. By way of illustration, we may take the portrayal of paradise in the early fourteenth-century frescoes of the Last Judgment in the parekklesion at the Kariye Camii. Here we see the vegetation of paradise – its shrubs and its trees – and also its climate – represented by the white background that conveys the absence of the earthly seasons. But there is no water. Meanwhile, on the other side of the chapel, a tremendous river of fire overwhelms the damned.¹¹

If the Rivers of Paradise did not appear in the decoration of churches, they did occasionally appear in medieval Byzantine manuscripts, where their presence was more discreet than it would have been in monumental art. A notable example occurs in the twelfth-century illustrations of

the manuscript of the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos in the Vatican Library (MS gr. 1162). In this case we find a miniature depicting paradise as a metaphor of the Virgin. A fiery angel guards the gate of the garden. Inside we discover the fountain of paradise personified as a naked youth holding a bright red drainpipe, from which the four rivers flow in copious streams. It may be noted, however, that the four rivers do not extend beyond the limits of paradise, as they did in early Byzantine times, but they curl back on themselves so that they are carefully confined within the well-guarded borders of the garden.¹²

In a twelfth-century Gospel Book in the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos, MS 234, the Evangelists Mark and Luke are portrayed writing at their desks beside elaborate fountains. The fountain beside St Mark, on folio 23v., is placed in a small garden set behind a white fence. It has a basin of green marble surmounted by a pine-cone, and it is flanked by two cypress trees.¹³ The fountain that accompanies St Luke, on folio 31, is carved of white marble and is sheltered by a pink marble canopy on which is a diminutive roof garden containing trees, also enclosed by a white picket fence.¹⁴ These gardens enclosing fountains are a continuation of the old pre-iconoclastic imagery that we saw in Ravenna, although here nature is not as wild; it has been tamed and enclosed inside cultivated gardens. Also, this imagery is on a small scale, hidden discretely within the pages of a manuscript, and not placed on open display on the walls of a church.

Much more frequently in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art the Evangelists are accompanied not by water and by water life, but by elaborate architectural structures, which themselves assumed a symbolic meaning, stressing the role of the Evangelists as witnesses to the incarnation. A good example can be found in the late twelfth-century frescoes of the monastic church of Lagoudera, on Cyprus. Here the four Evangelists are portrayed in the nave, writing their gospels in the south-western and north-western pendentives under the dome, opposite the Annunciation, which is depicted in the north-eastern and south-eastern pendentives (fig. 12.1).¹⁵ There are no rivers, fountains, birds or plants to be seen beside these Evangelists, but only magnificently elaborate buildings – complex compositions of doors, windows, columns, arches, pediments, domes and courses of chevron in perspective, all swathed with rich crimson drapes. This wonderful wealth of architectural detail can be contrasted with the depiction of the Virgin and the Christ Child enthroned between archangels in the apse of the church.¹⁶ By contrast with the portrayals of the writing Evangelists in the naos, the scene of heavenly ceremonial in the sanctuary has no architectural accompaniment; its relative austerity lifts it out of an earthly context and places



Fig 12.1. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakos, fresco. The Evangelists John and Luke.
 Photograph: Richard Anderson, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives,
 Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, DC (with permission).

it in heaven. The same symbolism, of buildings representing a terrestrial context, and their absence indicating heaven, can be found in other medieval Byzantine churches.¹⁷ Thus the message of the medieval portrayals of the Evangelists with their architectural backgrounds was similar to that conveyed by the mosaics of San Vitale. In the pre-iconoclastic church the Evangelists were associated with the irrigation of the earth, represented by its rivers and its plant and animal life; in the medieval church their terrestrial role was expressed in an inorganic way, through architecture, rather than through the imagery of terrestrial fertility.

The main reason for this abandonment of the four Rivers of Paradise and their related imagery by Byzantine artists is probably to be sought in the iconoclastic disputes of the eighth century, which problematised the depiction of nature in Byzantine art. The eighth-century iconoclastic interventions in the floor mosaic of the Chapel of the Martyr Theodore, attached to the atrium of the Cathedral of Madaba in Jordan, illustrate the sensitivities of Christians during this period concerning the depiction of the four rivers. This chapel and its original pavement are dated by an inscription to the year 562. The original floor displayed a central rectangle containing a geometrical interlace that framed a variety of subjects drawn from nature, including birds, fishes, baskets of fruits and farm workers. Surrounding this

central panel there was a border with an acanthus scroll enclosing scenes of hunting and pastoralism. As at Tegea, the general subject of the floor was the earth and its produce. Also, as at Tegea, there were personifications of the four Rivers of Paradise, who were portrayed in the four corners of the central rectangle where they irrigated the bounty of terrestrial creation.¹⁸ In the course of the eighth century some of the figures in the mosaic were erased by iconoclasts. This destruction was carried out with care, so as not to disturb the rest of the mosaic. This phenomenon, which can also be observed in other mosaics of Palestine that suffered iconoclastic interventions, proves that the Christians themselves carried out the alterations, and not their Muslim rulers.¹⁹ It can also be observed that the personifications of the four Rivers of Paradise were singled out especially for removal; the iconoclasts allowed many of the other human figures on the floor, including the hunters in the border, to remain.²⁰ This indicates that the river personifications were considered especially offensive.

Why should the rivers have been particularly objectionable to the iconoclasts? In part this must have been due to the role played by rivers in pagan cults, especially the river Nile, whose annual flood had been secured through public pagan rites, even as late as 424.²¹ In the private sphere, early Christian writers such as John Chrysostom criticised the practice of wearing magical amulets inscribed with the names of rivers to bring prosperity and good fortune.²² It is striking that, while we find numerous depictions of the Nile in pre-iconoclastic church art, many contemporary writers, such as the sixth-century hymnographer Romanos, considered the river as a symbol of idolatry.²³ According to Andrew of Crete, whose career began in Palestine and was contemporary with the beginnings of iconoclasm in the eighth century, only the arrival of the light of Christ sanctified Egypt and the Nile, cleansed them of their accursed idols, and rid them of the foul rites of their demons.²⁴ Eventually these attitudes found expression in the decoration of churches, either through the destruction of earlier images of the rivers as occurred in eighth-century Palestine, or through their avoidance, as occurred in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art.

The second part of this chapter turns from the Rivers of Paradise to the depiction of water and fountains in association with the Virgin Mary. A late eighth- or early ninth-century encomium on the relics of St Euphemia, attributed to Constantine bishop of Tios, describes the actions of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V as follows:

Not only did he [Constantine V] extend his wickedness against the holy icons, but also ... he set at naught the hagiasmata that flowed on account of God's providence toward men, and he called those who made use of them worshipers of water, thus

taking the glory away from the intercessions of the saints, even renouncing the intercession of Mary, the all-holy Mother of God.²⁵

So here also, in the case of the Virgin as with the Evangelists, there was a problem with water, and it was iconoclasm that brought it to a head.

In pre-iconoclastic churches the Virgin, like the Evangelists, was sometimes associated with aquatic imagery. She was portrayed in association with fountains flanked by birds and beasts in the apse mosaic at Kiti (figs. 11.3–4, above).²⁶ Another pre-iconoclastic mosaic that associates the Virgin with water fills the apse in the basilica of Eufrasius at Poreč, a work of the mid sixth century. Here, beneath the enthroned Virgin and Child in the vault of the apse, and above scenes of the Annunciation and the Visitation on the lower walls, there appears a splendid frieze of nine scallop shells executed in mosaic interspersed with fourteen medallions of real mother of pearl.²⁷ In this context the shells evoke the familiar literary metaphor of the Virgin as the oyster shell from which was born Christ, the pearl of great price.²⁸ In the post-iconoclastic period, the best-known portrayal of the Virgin with aquatic life is the late twelfth-century icon of the Annunciation at Mount Sinai, which incorporates at its bottom a river teeming with creatures, including herons, ducks, swordfish, octopus and leaping fish.²⁹ These animals evoked the metaphorical praises of the Virgin familiar from Byzantine hymns and sermons.³⁰ But, in spite of its fame today, the icon at Sinai seems to have been an exception. In medieval Byzantine art it is more common to find the Annunciation proper presented without fountains or water,³¹ so that the scene serves as a foil to depictions of the preliminary Annunciation by the Well, or the Annunciation to the Virgin's mother, St Anne. These last scenes, the Annunciation by the Well and the Annunciation to St Anne, were presented in a more earth-bound way, which enhanced the spiritual status of the final Annunciation, the moment of the conception of Christ. As an example of this principle, we may take the twin portrayals of the Annunciation by the Well and of the final Annunciation in the Virgin's house in the twelfth-century-frescoes of the Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi at Kastoria, in northern Greece.³² In this church, the Annunciation by the Well, painted in the nave, is filled with detail, expressive of mundane life (fig. 12.2). We may note the realistic detail of an ancient Corinthian capital turned upside down to serve as a well-head, as well as the wooden winch for raising the water, which is shown in perspective. Such picturesque elements are absent from the Annunciation proper, which is depicted on the arch opening into the sanctuary of the church (fig. 12.3). Here the architecture of the Virgin's

house is shown as a flat screen with small window-like openings. The realia that characterised the Annunciation by the Well are much less in evidence. A similar contrast can be observed between portrayals of the Annunciation to the Virgin, and the Annunciation to St Anne. In the mosaics of the church of Daphni, for example, which date around the year 1100, the Annunciation to the Virgin is particularly austere; only divine light, in the form of golden tesserae, surrounds the actors; there are no terrestrial references of any kind in the background to the scene (fig. 12.4).³³ This brilliant image, high up beneath the dome of the church, can be contrasted with the mosaic of the Annunciation to St Anne, which is depicted lower down, in the narthex (fig. 12.5 and see plate 3).³⁴ Here, inspired by the apocryphal *Protevangelion of St James*, and by its literary embellishments, the artists have depicted St Anne's garden with all of its terrestrial delights. At the centre an ornamental fountain rises, crowned by a pine-cone on a stalk, which surmounts three tiered basins, respectively carved of yellow, green and pink marble. The garden is encircled by trees with birds sitting in their branches. The same contrasts appear in manuscripts. In the Vatican copy of the homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos we find no less than five miniatures illustrating the Annunciation in the Virgin's house.³⁵ While each of



Fig 12.2. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, fresco. The Annunciation to the Virgin by the Well.

Photograph: Photo Lykides (with permission).



Fig 12.3. Kastoria, Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, fresco. The Annunciation to the Virgin.

Photograph: Photo Lykides (with permission).

them illustrates the house itself, there are no other terrestrial details, such as fountains, animals or plants. Only gold accompanies the scene. But in the miniature of the Annunciation to St Anne, we discover another luxuriant garden, complete with its elaborate tiered fountain topped by a pinecone and emitting water through serpent-headed spouts (see plate 5).³⁶ In each of these works of art we can see that the depiction of the well or the fountain signifies a more terrestrial context; the water is withheld from the scene of the greatest spiritual significance, the conception of Christ. So fountains often play an ambivalent role in association with the Virgin in Byzantine church art after iconoclasm. They celebrate the conception of the Virgin by their presence, and they honour the conception of Christ by their absence.

In late Byzantine art, during the Palaiologan period, we find new iconographic types that associate the Virgin with water, namely the icons of the *Zoodochos Pege*. The genesis of these images is obscure. We know that as early as the tenth century there was a marble icon of the Virgin at the Blachernai with pierced hands, from which water flowed as if from a fountain. According to the *Book of Ceremonies* the emperors washed ritually in



Fig 12.4. Daphni, Monastery Church, vault mosaic. The Annunciation to the Virgin. Photograph: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library (with permission).

this water on their visits to the shrine.³⁷ A reproduction of this icon, with its hands perforated so that it could serve as a fountain, was found at the Church of St George of the Mangana, and is now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul; it may date to the time of the construction of the monastery of St George at the Mangana by Constantine IX in the mid-eleventh century (fig. 12.6 and plate 9).³⁸ We do not know what images of the Virgin may or may not have existed at the monastery of the *Theotokos tes Peges*, outside the land walls of Constantinople. This shrine, with its miraculous spring, functioned from the fifth or sixth century, but in monumental art we only have evidence of an iconographic type associated with it at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This evidence comes in the form of a fresco in the narthex of the Apendiko church in Mistra, which was painted between 1312 and 1322. Here we see an image of the Virgin with her two hands raised in prayer, as in the icon from the Blachernai, and with the



Fig 12.5. Daphni, Monastery Church, wall mosaic. The Annunciation to St Anne. Photograph: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library (with permission).

Christ Child suspended in front of her. Beneath Christ, the water in the spring is represented as white swirls against a blue ground. The Virgin is flanked by Joachim and Anne, who are shown in supplication. An inscription identifies the image as the *Zoodochos Pege*.³⁹

Later medieval frescoes of the *Zoodochos Pege* depict the Virgin and Child in similar poses, but rising from a basin without the explicit portrayal of water, as can be seen in a painting in the Church of Hagioi Theodoroi at Mistra (fig. 12.7).⁴⁰ Alice-Mary Talbot has linked the iconography of the *Zoodochos Pege* with a mosaic above the sacred spring of the *Theotokos tes*



Fig 12.6. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums, marble relief from St George of the Mangana, detail. The Virgin as a fountain.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.

Peges, which was described between 1306 and 1320 by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in his *logos* on the shrine.⁴¹ Xanthopoulos wrote:

In the middle of the dome, where there is the ceiling of the church, the artist perfectly depicted with his own hands the life-bearing source, who bubbles forth from her bosom the most beautiful and eternal infant in the likeness of transparent and drinkable water which is alive and leaping.

Xanthopoulos goes on to describe the reflection of the mosaic in the basin of the spring, speculating whether the image in the water is a reflection of the mosaic above, or whether the mosaic itself is a reflection of the image in the miraculous water.⁴² It is not clear from the description by Xanthopoulos whether the basin was depicted in the mosaic, as in the later fresco at the Hagioi Theodoroi (fig. 12.7), or whether it was omitted, as in the Aphenidiko. Nor is it certain that water was portrayed in the mosaic, although the language of the description certainly suggests this.⁴³



Fig 12.7. Mistra, Hagioi Theodoroi, fresco. The Virgin as *Zoodochos Pege*, after Millet 1910: pl. 90.2.

An interesting variant of the image of the Virgin emerging from a basin can be found in arcosolium H at the Kariye Camii (the monastery of the Chora), a tomb that was inserted into the north wall of the inner narthex. Over the tomb is a mosaic that portrayed an imperial couple, probably the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, youngest son of Andronikos II, who died around 1340, together with his spouse (fig. 12.8). The couple flanked a portrayal of the Virgin, labelled as *Zoodochos Pege*, with her arms raised in prayer and emerging from a line of gold tesserae arrayed in a concave curve.⁴⁴ The curve echoes the lip of the basin depicted in the fresco of the Church of Hagioi Theodoroi at Mistra, and in other depictions of the *Zoodochos Pege* (fig. 12.7).⁴⁵ However, in the mosaic of the Kariye Camii, the basin itself is not shown, nor is there an express



Fig 12.8. Istanbul, Kariye Camii (the Monastery of the Chora), mosaic. The Virgin as *Zoodochos Pege*.

Photograph: Henry Maguire.

portrayal of water. Instead we find a metrical inscription immediately beneath the Virgin, where we might expect the bowl to be portrayed. The inscription refers to the absent basin:

You are the Fount of Life,
Just as you are the Mother of God, the Word.
And I am Demetrios, your slave in affection.

It may be suggested that we have here a kind of aniconic water basin, which is implied by the composition, but not explicitly depicted. This suggests a reluctance on the part of the artist, or his patron, to depict water or the fountain itself as objects of veneration.

A final stage in the development of the iconography of the *Zoodochos Pege* is represented by a third fresco at Mistra, in the Church of St John (Ai Yannakis). This fresco, which has been dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, shows pilgrims drinking and washing themselves at a trough beneath the basin, which is set in a garden with a few plants.⁴⁶ The striking feature of all these medieval images of the *Zoodochos Pege* is that they did not include depictions of aquatic animals. In most of these late medieval paintings of the *Zoodochos Pege* the emphasis is on the basin, an inorganic symbol, and even the basin was only accepted with some hesitation. We

could say, then, that to some extent the images of the Virgin as *Zoodochos Pege* eventually substituted for the early Byzantine portrayals of the Rivers of Paradise and of the Virgin flanked by fountains, such as we saw at San Vitale and at Kiti (figs. 11.3–4, above). But these late medieval images of beneficial water are much more austere than their predecessors, without the celebration of earthly abundance that accompanied the fountains of old.

A similar observation can be made concerning the late medieval illustrations of the fifth-century Akathistos hymn in praise of the Virgin.⁴⁷ In these cycles, which first appear in manuscripts and frescoes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rich organic imagery of the poem is virtually ignored, as are the metaphors involving water. In the first or 'historical' section of the poem, we find a succession of brief summaries of Gospel episodes from the Annunciation to the Visitation, each followed by long lists of *chairetismoi*, or rhetorical invocations to the Virgin. In these invocations the Virgin is addressed through an astounding variety of metaphors. Thus, the eleventh *oikos* of the poem, which begins with the Flight into Egypt, declares:

By flashing the light of truth in Egypt you banished the darkness of error; for her idols, Saviour, did not withstand your strength, and fell, and those who were saved from them cried to the mother of God:

Hail, of men the restoration;
Hail, of demons the demolition ...
Hail, ocean, overwhelming the Pharaoh of the mind;
Hail, rock giving water to those who thirst for life ...
Hail, shield of the world, broader than the clouds;
Hail sustenance, of manna the successor ...
Hail to you, from whom flow milk and honey;
Hail, wedded maiden and Virgin.⁴⁸

In the illustration of this passage, however, artists always portrayed only the underlying gospel episode, namely the Flight into Egypt, and completely ignored the metaphors of water and abundant gifts that accompanied it.⁴⁹ Only the image in the first line, 'By flashing the light of truth in Egypt', found occasional illustration in works of art. In a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript in the Escorial rays of light extend from the mandorla of the Virgin towards Egypt,⁵⁰ while in the fourteenth-century Tomić Psalter the rays shine from the mandorla of the Christ Child himself as he is carried by Joseph.⁵¹ This reluctance to depict water-related themes, and indeed nature imagery in general, was true also of the illustration of the other stanzas of the poem. It is as if the late Byzantine artists were still

looking over their shoulders at the ghost of Constantine V, and his accusations of idolatry. Artists in the West during this period had no such compunctions.

The material that has been presented in the preceding pages reveals a fundamental contrast between Byzantine cult practices on the one hand, and the etiquette of images on the other. It is evident from the very existence of the shrines of the Pege and the Blachernai that water played an important part in Byzantine devotional practices, both before and after iconoclasm. But the evocation of that cult through images was a different matter. To wash in the water that flowed from the hands of the Virgin was acceptable, even for emperors; but to venerate an image of a river god, or even a landscape that evoked earthly fertility, could be construed as idolatry. As the mosaic in the Kariye Camii demonstrates, there was even an initial hesitation about portraying the Virgin's own fountain at the shrine of the Pege. When medieval artists depicted fountains in churches and manuscripts, it was often in a discourse of oppositions, which permitted water fountains and other elements of terrestrial nature to appear in scenes of lower status, in order to give a greater lustre to that which was spiritual. Ultimately the iconoclasts may not have succeeded in preventing the 'worshippers of water', but they did permanently put into question the enshrinement of water in art.

Notes

- 1 H. Maguire 1987b: 24–8, figs. 15–21.
- 2 H. Maguire 1987b: 22–3.
- 3 Deichmann 1958: pls. 332–47; 1969: 240–1; 1976: 162–5, 174–8.
- 4 Toesca 1954: 22; Brenk 1982: 19–24, esp. 23; H. Maguire 1987b: 77.
- 5 Demus 1984: I, 194–5, pls. 65 (colour), 327–9.
- 6 Demus 1970: 292, pl. 12.
- 7 Lasko 1972: 120–2, fig. 117, 119.
- 8 Lasko 1972: 249–51, fig. 292.
- 9 Demus 1970: 614–15, plate on 143.
- 10 An exception is the church of Ateni in Georgia, where frescoes of the four Rivers of Paradise appear in the squinches beneath the cupola. See Demus 1984: I, 194; Djurić 1989: 22–9.
- 11 Underwood 1966–75: III, pls. 390, 394, 396, 404–7.
- 12 Hutter and Canart 1991: fol. 37v.
- 13 Pelekanidis 1974–91: III, fig. 242.
- 14 Pelekanidis 1974–91: III, fig. 243.

- 15 Winfield and Winfield 2003: 147–8, pl. 1, figs. 78–81.
- 16 Winfield and Winfield 2003: pl. 5.
- 17 H. Maguire 2012: 144–52, 159–64.
- 18 Piccirillo 1993: 117, figs. 97–101, 109–15. See also the chapter by Brooke Shilling in this volume.
- 19 Schick 1995: 210; 1998: 87; Ognibene 1998: 384–5; Brubaker and Haldon 2001: 36.
- 20 Piccirillo 1993: 117, figs. 97, 101, 109, 112–15.
- 21 H. Maguire 2012: 27.
- 22 *In epistulam ad Colossenses, Homilia VIII*, 5, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 62, col. 358.
- 23 *Holy Innocents*, strophe 15, ed. Grosdidier de Matons 1964–81: II, 222.
- 24 *In S. Patapium*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 97, cols. 1217–22.
- 25 Halkin 1965: 96.
- 26 Michaelides 1987: 55–6, figs. 69, 70a–c. See also the chapter by Brooke Shilling in this volume.
- 27 Terry and Maguire 2007: II, figs. 140–53.
- 28 H. Maguire 2012: 80–1.
- 29 Evans and Wixom 1997: 374–5, no. 246.
- 30 H. Maguire 1981: 42–52.
- 31 Other exceptions include a thirteenth-century fresco of the Annunciation at Moutoullas on Cyprus (Stylianou and Stylianou 1985: 325, fig. 193) and the twelfth-century Codex Ebnerianus in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Auct. T. infra 1.10, fol. 118v. See the chapter by Paul Stephenson in this volume.
- 32 Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985: 34, fig. 14.
- 33 Safran 1998: 139–40, fig. 5.17.
- 34 Safran 1998: 148, fig. 5.25; Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: 121, fig. 1.
- 35 Hutter and Canart 1991: fols. 118, 122, 124, 126, 127v.
- 36 Hutter and Canart 1991: fol. 16v.; Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: 121, fig. 15.
- 37 *De cerimoniis* 2.12; ed. Reiske 1829–30: 551–6; Belting 1994: 186, 511.
- 38 A. Grabar 1976: 35–6, pl. 1.
- 39 Chatzidakis 1990: 48; Talbot 1994: 137, fig. 1; Etzeoglou 2005: 240–1, figs. 20.1, 20.2; Teteriatnikov 2005: 226, fig. 19.1.
- 40 Chatzidakis 1990: 51, with a dating to c.1400; Etzeoglou 2005: 245, fig. 20.9. See also the earlier fourteenth-century portrayals at Peć, in which only the Christ Child rises from the basin (Teteriatnikov 2005: 231–2, fig. 19.8) and Lesnovo, in which the basin contains the Virgin alone (Gabelić 1998: 172–4, pl. 45).
- 41 Talbot 1994: 137. For the date of the *logos*, see *ibid.* 136, n. 3.
- 42 Pamperis 1802: 13.
- 43 As pointed out by Etzeoglou 2005: 240.
- 44 Underwood 1966–75: I, 297–8, III, pls. 550–1.
- 45 See also the fourteenth-century portrayals at Peć (Teteriatnikov 2005: 231–2, fig. 19.8) and Lesnovo (Gabelić 1998: 172–4, pl. 45).

- 46 Chatzidakis 1990: 109; Talbot 1994: 143, fig. 5; Etzeoglou 2005: 244–5, fig. 20.8.
- 47 Spatharakis 2005.
- 48 Translation by Trypanis 1971: 380–1.
- 49 Spatharakis 2005: figs. 11, 47, 92, 100, 121, 140, 159, 181, 202.
- 50 Escorial, MS. R.I 19, fol. 15r.; Spatharakis 2005: 138–9, fig 181.
- 51 Moscow, Historical Museum, MS. Muz. 2752, fol. 287v.; Spatharakis 2005: 138, fig. 202.

13 | 'Rejoice, spring': the Theotokos as fountain in the liturgical practice of Byzantine hymnography

HELENA BODIN

In Byzantine hymnography, the Theotokos – the God-bearing Virgin, Mother of God and Unwedded Bride of the Orthodox Church – is represented as a fountain, spring, well or source, as an 'endless source of the living Water'.¹ These verbal images are closely associated with the visual imagery of icons of various kinds and with structures such as the baptisterium.

The biblical sources for this watery imagery are found in the Old as well as the New Testament. From there come the river and streams (Psalms 46:4), the 'fountain sealed' and the well (Song of Songs 4:12, 15), the living water (John 4:10–11), and the water of life in the new, heavenly city of Jerusalem (Revelation 22:1, 17). A special kind of imagery, which should rather be understood as imprints, is the typological imagery, where narratives from the Old Testament offer prefigurations to be fulfilled and interpreted within the frame of the New Testament in the light of the resurrection of Christ.² Especially with regard to springs and fountains, important prefigurations are the rock that Moses struck (Exodus 17:6) and the dew on the fleece of Gideon (Judges 6:37). But as will be demonstrated below, the Theotokos is also interpreted as a prefiguration of the baptismal font, or as a new pool of Siloam.

Usually, these typological images signify the Virgin's womb and aim to articulate and praise her role when Christ was conceived, that is her role in the incarnation of God. The water they incorporate is often interpreted as a symbol of purification or health.³ However, when these originally biblical verbal images are applied in hymnography, their reference might sometimes be to Christ and sometimes the Theotokos, depending on context. Careful readings and analyses are necessary to single out the significance of the spring in a certain hymn.⁴ Similar kinds of imagery with regard to the spring are known all over the medieval Christian world. It is present in Hildegard of Bingen's hymns from the twelfth century, for example with reference to Christ in an antiphon for the Virgin,⁵ as well as in the revelations of St Bridget from the fourteenth century, in a dialogue between the Mother of God and Christ, where Christ says to his mother: 'You are like a free-flowing spring from which mercy flows to the wretched.'⁶

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the functions of representations of the Theotokos as a spring or fountain in Byzantine hymns, within their liturgical context. Examples will be drawn primarily from the service of the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring, which has a direct connection to the church dedicated to the *Zoodochos Pege* in Constantinople and was composed by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in the early fourteenth century. But examples will also be found in some earlier hymns – in the Akathistos hymn and its special canon, together with a few other canons and *theotokia*.⁷ In most cases, the original historical context of these hymns is bound to the city of Constantinople, which might raise expectations for a historically or philologically oriented study, but my intention is nevertheless different: to reflect on the liturgical functions and theological implications of this verbal imagery, whenever and wherever it is performed in Orthodox services and translated to various languages. To this end, the hymns are quoted in English translations that are in liturgical use nowadays, and the same texts in Greek are easily accessible.⁸ The meaning of *Zoodochos Pege* will be discussed below; suffice it to say that, as a consequence of the decision to use existing English translations of the hymns, it will be rendered as 'Life-giving Spring'.

Performativity and hierotopy

Though the limited scope of this chapter concerns representations of the Theotokos as a spring within Byzantine hymnography, it adheres to the broader perspectives presented in recent pioneering studies by Alexei Lidov (2006b, 2011) and Bissera V. Pentcheva (2010, 2011), as well as the somewhat earlier works by Liz James (1996) and Robert Ousterhout (2002).⁹ They all perceive Byzantine liturgical practice fundamentally as a performative event, where participants are open to many types of sensory perceptions while interacting with various kinds of artefacts, perceived as dynamic and spatial. What the participants hear in readings and hymns during the services can also be seen, smelled, tasted and touched, framed by the architectural structures of the church. Traditionally, the liturgical performance is explained as forming an interface between heaven and earth, where the congregation celebrates *together with* the heavenly hosts and the angels, who never cease to praise God in the heavenly liturgy. The principal aim of the Byzantine liturgy is to create a heaven on earth, a heaven that it is possible for human beings to experience bodily by earthly means, through their senses.¹⁰

The notion of *hierotopy*, introduced and defined by Lidov, offers a more precise term than the general conception of sacred space and is more accurate than the anachronistic Romantic and Wagnerian term *Gesamtkunstwerk*.¹¹ When examining the special kind of spatial creativity developed in Byzantine liturgy, and passed on to modern times by the Orthodox Church in its various cultural and national contexts, the term *hierotopy* has proved to be a useful tool, since it refers to the 'creation of sacred spaces regarded as a special form of creativity' and forms 'a subject of cultural history'.¹²

Many valuable studies have been made of representations of the Theotokos (and sometimes Christ) as a spring, most of them focusing on visual imagery and iconography. Perhaps the broadest and most far-reaching study, which spans not only Eastern and Western Christian cultures but also ancient culture, is Friedrich Muthmann's *Mutter und Quelle* (1975).¹³ Recently, Henry Maguire (2012) has studied nature in Byzantine art and literature in a work which also offers thought-provoking interpretations of architectural metaphors, such as the fountain.¹⁴ There are several more specialised studies: the iconography of the Fountain of Life has been studied by Paul A. Underwood (1950) with regard to illuminated Gospel manuscripts and by Tania Velmans (1968) within the Byzantine tradition. Jens Fleischer (2004) has studied the iconography of the Mother of God as the Life-giving Fountain in a broader medieval context.¹⁵ Two studies especially concerned with the *Zoodochos Pege* are made by Alice-Mary Talbot (1994), on the epigrams by Manuel Philes, and by Stéphanos Efthymiadis (2007), on the narrations of the miracles of the spring.¹⁶ Byzantine hymnography seems often to have been neglected as a text source, but there is a helpful inventory study by Joseph Ledit (1976) on Mary in the Byzantine liturgy, and Virginia M. Kimball (2010) has discussed the feasts of the Theotokos, among them the Life-giving Spring, from the theological perspective of the received tradition.¹⁷ As for the Akathistos hymn, which is an important text in this respect, there are two illuminating studies by Peltomaa (2001), on its verbal imagery, and by Spatharakis (2005), on its visual imagery.¹⁸

Verbal images of the spring or fountain in Byzantine hymnography are firmly associated with other prominent images of the Theotokos, such as the garden, perceived as Paradise, and the city, perceived as the heavenly or living city. Hymns in praise of the Theotokos offer the participants in the Orthodox services a mental image of a refreshing, welcoming garden, offering its visitors greenery, flowers, fruits and a secret spring, enhanced by the visual imagery provided by the icons and various adornments of

the church.¹⁹ In yet other hymns, the verbal images of the Theotokos are modelled upon the view of a complete late antique or medieval city with walls, ramparts, towers, gates, portals, pillars, one or more springs flowing with fresh water, a haven or a port, a palace with a throne, and a temple with a sanctuary – altogether a city, where citizens can find shelter, refuge and protection.²⁰ When the verbal images of the hymns are activated in Orthodox services, they become spatialised and acquire liturgical functions. In this way, the garden of the Theotokos is traditionally and symbolically imagined as situated behind the iconostasis. The imagined city she personifies and patronises is likewise modelled on the heavenly city of Jerusalem, within the performative liturgical space of the actual church.²¹

In this context, the spring stands out as the necessary element of both the garden and the city. The spring is the common denominator, situated right in the core of various hymnographic representations of the Theotokos.

'Theotokos, thou living and abundant fountain'

A few instances of watery verbal imagery in Byzantine hymnography, and especially the image of the spring, associated with the Theotokos, have been noted by Ledit, Talbot and Muthmann.²² Although the spring is not explicitly mentioned in the Akathistos hymn, it is impossible to neglect this foremost hymn in praise of the Theotokos, where the unwedded bride is greeted as a prefiguration of the baptismal font, as a cleansing basin or laver and as a drinking bowl. But the hymn ascribes not only containing functions to her – she is also greeted as the one who causes 'the ever-flowing River to gush forth'. It is therefore not only her vessel-like, containing and closed functions, but also her outpouring capacities that are emphasised in the Akathistos hymn:

Rejoice, for thou dost cause the ever-flowing River to gush forth.

Rejoice, thou who dost depict the image of the font.

Rejoice, thou who dost wash away the stain of sin.

Rejoice, Laver purifying conscience.

Rejoice, Wine-bowl pouring forth joy.²³

Although the origin of the Akathistos hymn is disputed, both regarding its place and time of composition, there is no doubt that it forms an early treasure of verbal images of the Theotokos, probably from as early as the fifth century.²⁴ Its prooimion also has a somewhat later and special connection to

Constantinople, because the city's miraculous rescue from a siege is attributed to the intervention of the Theotokos. In the ninth century, Joseph the Hymnographer dedicated a canon to the Akathistos hymn, to be performed in a special service celebrated during Lent, where the Akathistos hymn traditionally is sung. In this canon, the Theotokos is greeted as a spring in the first ode: 'Thou living and never-failing spring.'²⁵ There is also a *chairetismos* inspired by the Akathistos hymn, praising her as the spring: 'Rejoice, unfailing well-spring of the living Water, O Queen of all.'²⁶

Originating from the Akathistos hymn, which was basically composed in the genre of a *kontakion*, many dozens of epithets and metaphors were borrowed and rearranged during the coming centuries in ever newer hymns. An illuminating example is found in the *Menaion* of 15 December, where the spring is combined with yet other epithets and prefigurations from the Akathistos hymn, such as the lamp, temple and tabernacle: 'We, the faithful, magnify the Theotokos as the ever-flowing and Life receiving well-spring, the radiant lamp of grace, the animate temple, the all-pure tabernacle more spacious than heaven and earth.'²⁷ Other examples from the Slavonic *Menaion*, where the Theotokos is addressed as a spring and fountain, are provided by hymns commemorating a special icon of the Mother of God, 'Unexpected Joy' (*Nechaiannaia Radost'*). Her icon is presented as a 'wonder-working image' and as 'an ever-flowing well-spring' of gifts of goodness,²⁸ and she is addressed as a fountain: 'O Theotokos, thou living and abundant fountain: in thy divine glory establish those who hymn thee and spiritually form themselves into a choir; and vouchsafe unto them crowns of glory.'²⁹

Yet more examples may be found in the genre of theotokia. These are very short hymns, only a single strophe each, where the celebrated feast is reflected and so to speak 'conjugated' with regard to the role of the Theotokos. A theotokion from the Pentecostarion begins thus with an acclamation of the Theotokos as a spring: 'Since thou art a well-spring of pity, count us worthy of compassion, O Theotokos.'³⁰

Xanthopoulos' service to the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring

In the early fourteenth century, the cult of the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring (*Zoodochos Pege*) in Constantinople experienced a marked revival, as has been carefully described by Talbot.³¹ Ever since then, the celebration of the Theotokos of the Spring takes place on the

Friday immediately after Easter, still within the Renewal Week. A service (*akolouthia*) composed especially for this occasion by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos is performed. It starts in the Vespers (*esperas*) on Thursday evening, continues in the Matins (*orthros*) on Friday morning, where Xanthopoulos' canon to the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring is sung, and is completed the same day in the liturgy (*leitourgia*) with the celebration of the eucharist.

According to the *Synaxarion*, this day celebrates the consecration of a special temple in Constantinople, dedicated to the Theotokos as the Life-giving Spring, and the many miracles – healings of various kinds – which took place therein are commemorated. Relating Xanthopoulos' description of the mosaic of 'the life-bearing Source', Talbot makes the point that he emphasises 'that it was the mosaic of the Virgin reflected in the basin that gave the water its miraculous power'.³² Such a description could well serve as a basis for an interpretation of the performance of this service as 'hierotopic', in the terminology of Lidov, since the mosaic icon is ascribed a spatial impact by its reflection. The spring must also have contributed to the milieu, not only visually, by reflections of light, but also aurally, by its splashing and purling sound. Lidov would therefore consider it a 'spatial icon'.³³ Such a hierotopy is deliberately created by liturgical action and is not bound to a special place, but may be performed in any Orthodox Christian context where the Theotokos of the Spring is honoured.

The service composed by Xanthopoulos and its many hymns in praise of the Theotokos of the Spring provide several interesting examples of the various functions she fulfilled in the capacity of a spring. In what follows only a few of its important topoi are examined.

The topos of eloquence

Xanthopoulos opens the canon of the Theotokos by combining some well-known rhetorical topoi, all of them converging in the image of the spring. In the *heirmos* of the canon's first ode, the Theotokos of the Spring is presented as the source of triple or quadruple benefits: she is the source of eloquence, of life and grace, and of the incarnation, when the Word of God became flesh. These benefits are all combined into one single movement, in which the grace gushing forth from the spring of the Theotokos, wherefrom the Word (Christ) once flowed forth, grants the author (or singer) his power of eloquence and makes him able to praise the very same spring.

The argument forms thus a perfect circle, and its composition reminds in a congenial way of how water may be recycled in a fountain:

Now dost thou gush forth grace for me, O Virgin Theotokos of the Spring, thereby granting me eloquence, that I may praise thy Spring, which poureth forth life and grace for the faithful; for thou didst cause the enhypostatic Word to flow forth.³⁴

The aspect of eloquence in connection to water is also well known from Velmans' study.³⁵

The very same topos, again associated with the Theotokos, as well as the circularity of the argument, returns in a passage that embraces the canon's sixth ode and the following *kontakion* and *oikos*. First, the sixth ode elaborates on this theme in connection to the boundaries of reason and wisdom, where wisdom is associated with waters and God's creation of the world. In a paradoxical way it was the spring (the Theotokos), which gave birth to the depth of wisdom: 'Rational speech truly praiseth thee as a Spring, O pure one; for in a manner surpassing reason thou didst give birth to the Depth of wisdom, Who suspended the waters in the sky, and the earth upon the waters.'³⁶ Later on, the sixth ode continues the theme of eloquence in a negative way: 'Neither word, nor mind, nor tongue is able to acclaim thy childbirth, O pure one; yea, even the sublimity of philosophers and the eloquence of rhetoricians are put to shame and grow weak before thee.'³⁷ But the ability to speak and praise is however soon restored by the streams of grace from the spring, as is told in the *kontakion* and *oikos*, following immediately after the sixth ode of the canon:

From thine unfailing fount, O Maid most graced of God, thou dost reward me by the flow of the unending streams of thy grace that doth surpass human understanding. And since thou didst bear the Word incomprehensibly, I entreat thee to refresh me with thy grace divine, that I may cry to thee: Rejoice, O Water of salvation.

O Spotless Theotokos, who ineffably gavest birth to the Word Who was of the Father before the ages, open my mouth, O modest one, that I may be rendered capable of praising thee, and may acclaim thee, crying these things unto thy Spring: [. . .].³⁸

Furthermore, eloquence is not bestowed by the spring only upon the singer-and-author himself, but also upon the ones suffering from deafness and dumbness, as is said in the seventh ode: 'for thy water hath made the deaf

and dumb eloquent.³⁹ She who bore the Word of God is the natural granter of eloquence, for witty writers and disabled persons alike.

The topos of healing

Eloquence is however not the only gift from the Theotokos of the Spring. As told in the ninth ode, grace from the Virgin's 'ever-flowing Spring' grants the faithful 'strength against our enemies, as well as victories, health, and peace, and the fulfilment of our prayers.'⁴⁰ Strength against enemies and victory are traditionally associated with the Theotokos in her capacity as patroness of Constantinople, and in the prooimion of the Akathistos hymn she is addressed as 'Champion Leader'. But in this case, concerning the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring, it is aspects of health that are outstanding, when several miraculous healings are retold in the canon, as well as in the service as a whole.⁴¹ She is 'quickly healing all in grievous illness.'⁴² The association with the Akathistos hymn is though still relevant, since one of the stichera of the vespers takes up a *chairetismos* to praise her many cures: 'Rejoice, O holy life-giving Spring, which pourest forth abundant gifts most unfailingly, O fountain of cures and healings that dost most thoroughly purge all the strength of enervating, foul disease.'⁴³ The Theotokos of the Spring has furthermore saved people from collapsing stairs and a falling roof during an earthquake.⁴⁴

Several diseases are mentioned in Xanthopoulos' hymns, because they have been cured by water from the spring. Among them are cancer ('cancer the crab, was taught to walk aright');⁴⁵ blood issues, inflammations and dysentery;⁴⁶ leprosy, cysts, punctures of nails, foul sores and palsy;⁴⁷ dropsy and pulmonic maladies;⁴⁸ blindness;⁴⁹ lameness and paralysis.⁵⁰ Even a dead man was quickened,⁵¹ barrenness is healed⁵² and 'the demons are drowned'.⁵³ What the water of the spring provides is the antidote, 'an antidote clearly unknown to nature',⁵⁴ and medicine: 'Pouring forth the water as though it were a compound of medicine, O Spring, thou dost impart healings unto all the faithful, to kings and common people, paupers and rulers, to poor and rich alike.'⁵⁵

The hymns mention also in what ways the water could be used, besides drinking it.⁵⁶ Water 'was poured upon the breast of the woman who was stricken by cancer', and a dead man was quickened by drops from the spring.⁵⁷ The water is – in a paradoxical way – also able to dry up, quench and stanch sources of illnesses, so to heal many different maladies.⁵⁸

The foremost characteristic of the healing water is its flowing and streaming qualities. It comes in torrents,⁵⁹ it is gushing forth and pouring forth

in floods,⁶⁰ in unending streams,⁶¹ surpassing a river's streams.⁶² The water thus flowing is equated to the grace and mercy of the Theotokos,⁶³ and it is 'divine and august'.⁶⁴ Most importantly, as the water originates from the Life-giving Spring, it is presented as living: as 'ever-living waters',⁶⁵ as 'the true living and endlessly flowing source',⁶⁶ and as 'an endless source of living water'.⁶⁷ Just like the water Christ offered to the Samaritan woman at the well, the water of the spring is identified with Christ himself. This aspect is clearly formulated in the third ode: 'a Spring that causeth Christ, the Water of incorruption, to flow forth'.⁶⁸

The topos of incarnation

The spring is thus seen to offer eloquence but also life and grace – that is, all kinds of healings from illness – by its water, which is identified with Christ, as has been quoted above and as is said in the eighth ode: 'All the might of death is banished straightway, O Queen and Lady; for thou art the well-spring of Christ the King, our eternal Life, the Water, the Manna, unto the ages'.⁶⁹ Christ is represented as the flowing water from the spring, and his conception is likewise articulated by watery images and prefigurations, such as the fleece covered with dew,⁷⁰ and rain from a cloud:

[...] He came down from on high like rain in thy pure womb, and He thus proved thee, O Bride of God, a fountain gushing forth every kind of blessing and all good things; as well as a flood flowing with lavish benefactions of remedies unto all that ask thee for strengthening of soul and for the health of body, which thou dost grant to them through the water of God's grace.⁷¹

With most notable hymns let us all, the faithful, praise and glorify the heavenly cloud which let fall that Rain from Heaven that came down unto the earth without suff'ring change, Christ, the Giver of life. He is the living divine Water springing and pouring forth immortal life [...].⁷²

This incarnational aspect of the spring, causing Christ to flow forth as water, is manifest in many hymns to the Theotokos of the Spring.

Like other verbal images of the Theotokos, functioning as prefigurations – such as the basin or laver, the fount, the bowl, the urn with manna,⁷³ the pool of Siloam, the rock that poured forth water, Solomon's porch, the waters of Jordan, the well of the Samaritan woman,⁷⁴ the tabernacle and the temple – the image of the spring is characterised by its profound *spatial* qualities. All these verbal images are examples of various kinds of vessels or containers, and they respond easily to the receiving or containing aspect

of the notion of *Zoodochos Pege*, which might be translated literally as the Life-receiving Spring.⁷⁵ When the spring signifies the role of the Virgin's womb for incarnation, it is this receiving that is the term's active meaning.

However, yet other qualities than the receiving and containing ones are emphasised when celebrating the Theotokos of the Spring: the outpouring functions of the spring, which are ever-flowing, unending and abundant, together with the capacity of the water of the spring to exceed all previously known waters. One of the stichera provides an example: 'O spiritual and mighty Ocean, thou dost supersede the great streams of the River Nile by torrents of grace divine.'⁷⁶ The image of water gushing forth from the fountain responds to the giving or outpouring aspects of the *Zoodochos Pege*, and corresponds thus to the incorrect but congenial translation of its title as the Life-giving Spring, a translation problem that has been observed and discussed by several scholars.⁷⁷

The function of the Theotokos imagined as a spring or fountain in the service composed by Xanthopoulos is therefore twofold and lies in her capacity to both receive *and* give, to contain *and* pour out. Her receiving role for the incarnation of Christ is the ultimate condition for her later outpouring role, which follows on the resurrection of Christ, when the benefits of the resurrection – eloquence, life, grace, health – in the form of living water are distributed from her spring to the worshippers.

The spring in the liturgical context of the resurrection

From a liturgical point of view, the Theotokos of the Spring is awarded a very high status when she is celebrated on Friday of Renewal Week, that is on the first Friday after the celebration of Easter Sunday (which is termed *Pascha* in the hymns). By this time, all services are still permeated with the light and joy of the resurrection of Christ.

The overwhelming joy and limitless invitation and inclusive mood of the celebration of the resurrection of Christ are in this way passed on to the celebration of the Theotokos of the Spring. There are several instances of uttermost joy in the hymns, for example expressed by greetings of the Theotokos in the form of *chairetismoι*, modelled on the Akathistos hymn: 'Rejoice, Spring of unceasing joyfulness. Rejoice, Stream of ineffable comeliness; [...] Rejoice, Water of felicity'.⁷⁸ The participants are also urged to leap for joy, like 'the lame skip with joy because of thee',⁷⁹ to dance and clap their hands in joy and to hasten to the Spring:

O ye feast-lovers, let us sound the trumpet of hymns; let us leap for joy because of the water, and let us dance with rejoicing on account of the ever-flowing floods of the life-bearing Spring. Let kings and princes hasten together, and be first to partake of the grace of Spring in abundance; for it hath saved kings, and, by the touch of its waters, it hath raised up them that were bed-ridden. O ye shepherds, and all ye people, let us come nigh unto this rain-bringing cloud and draw the saving water. [...] All ye peoples, let us clap our hands, and cry unto her that poureth forth the waters of salvation upon the faithful in every land: O pure one, who pourest forth ever-living waters from thy Spring, do not abandon us, O Virgin; for thou ever intercedest in behalf of thy servants.⁸⁰

By these words, the vespers conclude on Thursday evening, before the singing of the resurrectional troparion, 'Christ is risen'. It is evident that this concluding hymn does not mean that the celebration has come to its end. Instead, it announces an event to be continued, a cliffhanger leading to the next day's celebration, which recommences in the matins of Friday morning by almost the same wordings as the night before, urging the participants anew to hasten to the spring and leap for joy:

Ye that seek health, hasten unto the Spring; for the grace of the Virgin Maiden doth dwell therein. Leap for joy and be glad, O ye multitudes of the faithful, for in her temple, according to your need, ye shall have the recompense of your requests.⁸¹

During the Renewal Week, the joyful, victorious canon of Pascha, written in the eighth century by John of Damascus, is performed every day. When different feasts coincide, tradition prescribes that the canons and other hymns of the feasts shall be sung alternately. The canon of the Theotokos is therefore sung in turns, interleaved by the heirmoi and troparia of the canon of Pascha. Likewise, stichera of the Theotokos are sung side by side with stichera of the resurrection. In this way, the praising of the water of the Theotokos of the Spring is placed as close as possible to the praising of Christ's resurrection in the liturgical performance.

Because of the mixing of the two canons, an especially interesting passage appears when the third ode of both of the canons is sung. The Virgin is greeted as the spring and bride of God,⁸² and 'the triumphal hymn' of resurrection is delivered.⁸³ The sequence which follows continues to praise the Virgin as a spring, over and over again: 'I know thee to be a luminous and holy temple of the Master of all, O Maiden, and a Spring that causeth Christ, the Water of incorruption, to flow forth, wherefrom we are given to drink.'⁸⁴ This praise is embraced by the first troparia of the third ode of the canon of Pascha (now labelled *katavasia*): 'Come let us drink a new drink, not one marvellously brought forth from a barren rock, but a Source of

incorruption, which pours out from the tomb of Christ, in whom we are established.⁸⁵

The point I would like to make with regard to this passage concerns the significance of 'the new drink' mentioned in the canon of Pascha, when it is performed in the context of the canon of the Theotokos of the Spring. In the canon of Pascha, this drink is directly associated with the effect of the resurrection, which makes everything new. It connects the narration of the first eucharist in the Gospel of Matthew (26:29) with that of the rock Moses struck in Exodus (17:6) and presents the tomb of Christ as the source of the new drink.⁸⁶ However, when this canon is performed side by side with the canon of the Theotokos, the new drink alludes also to the drink from the spring, offered by the Theotokos. When the canon of Pascha urges the participants to come and 'drink a new drink', it gives at the same time the cue for the other canon's praise of the Theotokos as 'a Spring that causeth Christ, the Water of incorruption, to flow forth, wherefrom we are given to drink'.

Therefore, when the Theotokos is praised as the spring in this resurrectional context, her importance could not be greater from a liturgical and theological point of view. Right from the beginning of the canon, the water from her spring is associated with the new drink made possible by the resurrection of Christ, and the canon's watery imagery is immediately related to the new conditions brought by the resurrection. When the communion hymn (*koinonikon*) shortly after the Orthros is sung in the liturgy, as many times as needed during the distribution of the eucharist, then even this hymn thematises the drink which is offered to the communicants: 'Partake ye of the Body of Christ, taste of the Immortal Source.'⁸⁷ The new drink after the resurrection and the drink from the spring, which both are verbal images from the hymns, become realised not only when tasting the water of the spring but also in the form of the eucharistic wine in the chalice. By means of the celebration of the Theotokos of the Spring on Friday in Renewal Week, incarnation and resurrection are necessarily bound up with each other in the image and reality of the spring.⁸⁸

When looking a bit further into the liturgical context of this part of the year and its sessional feasts and hymns, as it is described in the *Pentecostarion*, it is evident that this period aims to demonstrate the healing impact of the resurrection on all kinds of human diseases and misery. After two Sundays dedicated respectively to the apostle Thomas and the myrrh-bearing women, who all met the resurrected Christ and expressed their belief in him, three more Sundays follow, which are dedicated to the paralytic, the Samaritan woman and the blind man. According to the Gospels, they were

all healed or restored to life by Christ when they expressed their belief in him. In this way, all Sundays up to the Ascension witness and celebrate how the resurrection brings about changed conditions, and especially health, for all humans. The Friday immediately after Easter, when the Theotokos of the Spring and the miraculous healing effects of the spring are celebrated, is only the first occasion in this row of restoring and healing feasts, which covers altogether six weeks.

Surpassing nature and transgressing Constantinople

In Xanthopoulos' service of the Theotokos of the Spring, the spring acquires an almost cosmic and all-embracing significance with regard to both time and space. The hymns place the spring right in the core of Paradise and the city of God. The spring is said to originate in Paradise: 'As is meet and proper, I call thee [...] a spring divine and pure coming forth from Paradise, O Lady most blest; for the great stream of grace of thy Spring hath flowed forth throughout the four parts of all the earth.'⁸⁹ The praise of the Theotokos of the Spring is also interleaved by a verse from the Psalms, where the rivers – in this context identified with the streams of the spring – are watering the heavenly city: 'The rushings of the river make glad the city of God.'⁹⁰ In this way, the spring of the Theotokos is present in the beginning of this world as well as in heaven and in the coming world, as envisioned in Revelation; the spring unites the creation of the world with its apocalyptic future.

The all-exceeding character of the waters pouring from the Theotokos of the Spring in Xanthopoulos' hymns may also be associated with another famous hymn of the Theotokos, 'In Thee, O Full of grace, doth all creation rejoice', a theotokion traditionally ascribed to John of Damascus, included in the *Oktoechos* and performed as a *megalynarion* in the Liturgy of St Basilios, where the womb of the Theotokos is praised as 'wider than the heavens.'⁹¹ The recurring motif of 'surpassing nature' and 'surpassing reason', as developed in the hymns dedicated to the Theotokos of the Spring,⁹² connects also to the notion of the Theotokos as *he chora tou achoretou* – the dwelling-place and the container of God, who himself is uncontainable and the only one ever to remain uncircumscribed. This paradoxical epithet of the Theotokos, put in the form of a spatial oxymoron, is found already in the Akathistos hymn, where God is described as 'the Uncircumscribed Word' and the Virgin is greeted as 'Closure of the Uncontained God'.⁹³ It provides furthermore the basis of the hierotopy created in the church of the Chora monastery by Theodoros Metochites, contemporary with

Xanthopoulos in the early fourteenth century.⁹⁴ Lidov has proposed that more attention should be paid to the donors or commissioners of holy sites such as Metochites or the many Byzantine emperors who often were the creators of sacred spaces. He compares their task to that of modern film directors, who are in charge of the coordination of the whole project and master all of its effects.⁹⁵

Although the verbal image of the Theotokos as a spring, shut off or gushing forth, seems to have been in use in Byzantine hymnography at least since the Akathistos hymn was composed, it is tempting to regard Xanthopoulos as the creative director of the revival of the *Zoodochos Pege* in the early fourteenth century. By his new service dedicated to the Theotokos of the Spring, composed to fit into the resurrectional joy of the Renewal Week, a hierotopy was created by combining all kinds of sensory perceptions, arts and spatial conditions. The result was a significative and long-lasting liturgical performance. The cult of the Theotokos of the Spring and the hierotopy created by means of the streaming water from her spring have ever since then flowed far beyond Constantinople, as the concluding example from our own time will demonstrate.

When, in August 2009, the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station in Southern Siberia in Russia was flooded, the ceiling of its turbine hall collapsed, destroying the turbines and killing seventy-five people. To commemorate the victims – the injured as well as the dead – a new chapel, dedicated to the Life-giving Spring (*Zhivonosnyi Istochnik*), was erected right beside the power station. A small basin was constructed, the special icon installed and eventually the cupola was painted with scenes from the life of Christ, all of them associated with water.⁹⁶ In this way, a similar hierotopy to that once created by Xanthopoulos in Constantinople was created, but this time in Southern Siberia beside the monstrous structure of a collapsed power station. Now as then, the hope is in the grace and healing capacities of the water from the spring.

Conclusion

The verbal image of the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring is represented in a very rich way in Byzantine hymnography, especially in the service dedicated to her, composed by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in the early fourteenth century. The hymns ascribe a central position to the spring, in Paradise as well as in the heavenly city of God, and the spring is also spatially enacted within the structure and liturgical practice of every Orthodox church. From

the Akathistos hymn onwards, the spring can be associated with various other verbal images and prefigurations of the Virgin's womb, such as the well, the urn, the temple and the tabernacle, which all share spatial qualities.

In this chapter, the spring of the Theotokos has been studied from a rhetorical and liturgical performative perspective, inspired by the notion of hierotopy, defined by Lidov as the special creativity from which sacred spaces originate, involving the dynamics of spatial icons as well as the participants' various sensory perceptions. Xanthopoulos' composition of the hymns for the service of the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring implied also the creation of a hierotopy. By use of the rhetorical topoi of eloquence, healing and incarnation in these hymns, the outstanding significance of the Theotokos of the Spring is expressed within the liturgical context of the resurrection of Christ, immediately after the celebration of Easter. The effects of both incarnation and resurrection are joined in the image of the spring, and the benefits of the resurrection are offered to the worshippers, as they gather to drink 'a new drink' from the spring, as well as from the eucharistic chalice. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century the waters from the Theotokos of the Spring at Pege in Constantinople have transgressed the once existing basin and kept streaming in the liturgical performance of the Orthodox Church, for example when faced with catastrophe. Hierotopies involving the Theotokos of the Spring are created whenever her service is celebrated on Friday in Renewal Week.

Notes

- 1 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, Exapostilarion of the Theotokos, second tone, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 2 See Young 1997: 192–204.
- 3 Ledit 1976: 80.
- 4 Velmans 1968: 127, has in an interesting way interpreted these kinds of double referents as a hesitation between the container and the contained. See also Arentzen 2014: 186–91 for a clarifying discussion of the use of ambiguous language in the kontakia of Romanos the Melodist, where Christ and Mary are sharing metaphors. For Christ as the fountain in Byzantine hymnography, there are many examples among the hymns from the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, in *The Pentecostarion*, and in the Great canon, by Andrew of Crete, which is sung during the first week of Great Lent. A few other examples are also discussed by Underwood 1950: 105–6 and *passim*.
- 5 Hildegard of Bingen, 'O splendidissima gemma' (2.10) in Newman 1998.
- 6 *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, Searby 2006: ch. 50: 7, 141.
- 7 For explanations of the genres of Byzantine hymnography, see Wellesz 1961.

- 8 The hymns quoted in English from Friday in Renewal Week, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990, are found in Greek at <http://glt.goarch.org/texts/Pen/p05.html>.
- 9 Lidov 2006b, 2011a; Pentcheva 2010, 2011; James 1996; Ousterhout 2002.
- 10 See e.g. St Germanus of Constantinople, 'Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation', in Meyendorff 1984: 56: 'The church is an earthly heaven in which the supercelestial God dwells and walks about.' Cf. also Lidov 2011b: 42.
- 11 Lidov 2006a: esp. 34.
- 12 Ibid., 32 and 48.
- 13 Muthmann 1975. For the *Zoodochos Pege*, see esp. 347–64 and plates.
- 14 H. Maguire 2012. See esp. 160–1, for the fountain in the Theodora-panel in San Vitale, Ravenna, and 136–43, for architectural metaphors. See also Maguire's chapter in this volume.
- 15 Underwood 1950; Velmans 1968; J. Fleischer 2004. See also Brooke Shilling's chapter in this volume.
- 16 Talbot 1994; Efthymiadis 2006–7, with many references.
- 17 Ledit 1976: esp. 78–82, 87–90, 281–4, 287; Kimball 2010: esp. 405–82.
- 18 Spatharakis 2005; Peltomaa 2001.
- 19 Bodin 2013: 128–47.
- 20 For liturgical functions of the city, see Lidov 2006a: 44, and my article on the Theotokos as a city, often modelled on Constantinople, in Olovsson and Mårtelius, forthcoming.
- 21 For the Theotokos as the patroness of Constantinople, see Limberis 1994; Pentcheva 2006.
- 22 Ledit 1976: 78–82; Talbot 1994: 136, n. 7. J. Fleischer 2004 refers to Muthmann 1975: 340, n. 311, for Ephraim the Syrian.
- 23 The Akathist hymn to the Theotokos, oikos φ, in *The Service of the Akathist Hymn*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1991.
- 24 Peltomaa 2001: esp. 113–14, for the dating of the hymn.
- 25 The canon of the Akathist hymn, ode 3, heirmos, in *The Service of the Akathist Hymn*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1991.
- 26 Ibid., ode 3, troparion 1.
- 27 Matins of 15 Dec., the canon of the Hieromartyr Eleutherius, ode 9, heirmos, *December Menaion*, <http://orthodox-stl.org/files/Menaion/Dec.-merged.PDF>.
- 28 Little vespers of 9 Dec. (The miraculous icon of the Mother of God known as 'Unexpected Joy'), stichera at the aposticha, tone 5, *December Menaion*, <http://orthodox-stl.org/files/Menaion/Dec.-merged.PDF>.
- 29 Matins of 9 Dec. (The miraculous icon of the Mother of God known as 'Unexpected Joy'), the first canon of the Theotokos, ode 3, heirmos, *December Menaion*, <http://orthodox-stl.org/files/Menaion/Dec.-merged.PDF>.
- 30 Monday of the third week, matins, theotokion, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.

- 31 Talbot 1994: 135–8.
- 32 Ibid., 137.
- 33 For ‘spatial icon,’ see Lidov 2011b: 41.
- 34 Friday of Renewal Week, matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 1, heirmos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 35 Velmans 1968: 120–3. See also Underwood 1950: 130, and Ingela Nilsson’s chapter in this volume.
- 36 Friday of Renewal Week, matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 6, heirmos.
- 37 Friday of Renewal Week, matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 6, troparion 3. Cf. the Akathist hymn, oikos ρ, in *The Service of the Akathist hymn*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1991: ‘Orators most eloquent do we behold mute as fish before thee, O Theotokos; for they are at a loss to explain how thou couldst remain a virgin and yet give birth. [. . .] Rejoice, thou who showest forth philosophers fools. Rejoice thou who provest logicians illogical.’ The same topos of inability to speak recurs several times in Xanthopoulos’ canon of the Theotokos, when trying to describe the effect of the miracles of the spring and of the incarnation, e.g. in ode 5, troparion 2, and in ode 8, troparion 2.
- 38 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, kontakion and oikos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 39 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 7, troparion 2.
- 40 Ibid., ode 9, troparion 4.
- 41 See also Efthymiadis 2006–7: 304–9, for lists of the various miraculous healings, as related by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos and others.
- 42 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 4, heirmos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 43 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 44 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 6, troparion 1, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 45 Ibid., ode 4, troparion 1.
- 46 Ibid., ode 5, troparion 3.
- 47 Ibid., ode 7, troparion 2 and 3.
- 48 Ibid., ode 8, heirmos and troparion 1.
- 49 Ibid., ode 9, troparion 1.
- 50 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 51 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 5, troparion 2, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 52 Ibid., ode 6, troparion 2.
- 53 Ibid., ode 3, troparion 2.
- 54 Ibid., ode 4, troparion 2.
- 55 Ibid., ode 3, troparion 3.
- 56 Ibid., ode 3, heirmos.

- 57 Ibid., ode 4, troparion 1, and ode 5, troparion 2.
- 58 Ibid., ode 5, troparion 3; ode 7, troparion 2; ode 8, troparion 1.
- 59 Ibid., ode 7, heirmos.
- 60 Ibid., ode 1, heirmos; ode 3, troparion 2.
- 61 Ibid., kontakion.
- 62 Ibid., sessional hymn of the Theotokos.
- 63 There are many examples, among them, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 1, troparion 2, and ode 3, troparion 2; see also *ibid.*, kontakion.
- 64 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 8, heirmos.
- 65 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 66 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, sessional hymn of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 67 Ibid., exapostilarion of the Theotokos.
- 68 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 3, heirmos.
- 69 Ibid., ode 8, trop 3. Cf. *ibid.*, the exapostilarion of the Theotokos: 'O Sovereign Lady, thou in truth hast proved to be an endless source of living water [. . .] pouring forth the pure water of salvation, yea, Christ our God.'
- 70 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 5, troparion 1 (fleece); Friday of Renewal Week, The Liturgy, the megalynarion of the Theotokos (dew).
- 71 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera for the Life-giving Spring. Cf. Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 1, troparion 3: 'Rejoice, O Mary, rejoice; for the Creator of all manifestly descended upon thee like a drop of rain, showing thee forth as an immortal Spring, O Bride of God.'
- 72 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 73 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, stichera of the Theotokos, second tone, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 74 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 5, troparion 1.
- 75 For discussions of the translation, see J. Fleischer 2004: 262, n. 1; Talbot 1994: 136–7; Kimball 2010: 465–6; Bakke 2013: 157–8.
- 76 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 77 See n. 75.
- 78 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, oikos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 79 Ibid., the canon of the Theotokos, ode 3, troparion 2.
- 80 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera of the Theotokos, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 81 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, the canon of the Theotokos, ode 9, troparion 2, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 82 Ibid., ode 1, troparion 3.

- 83 Ibid., katavasia (repeating the heirmos of the first ode of the canon of Pascha).
- 84 Ibid., canon of the Theotokos, ode 3, heirmos.
- 85 Ibid., canon of Pascha, ode 3, heirmos, and katavasia.
- 86 For the tomb of Christ as a life-bearing spring, see Underwood 1950: 96–7.
- 87 Friday of Renewal Week, The Liturgy, the communion hymn of Pascha, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 88 See further Velmans' interpretation of the traditional place of the icon of the Theotokos of the Life-giving Spring in the Orthodox Church as an indication of its role between the mysteries of the incarnation and the eucharist, Velmans 1968: 132.
- 89 Thursday of Renewal Week, Vespers, stichera for the Life-giving Spring, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 90 Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, verse within the stichera of the Theotokos, second tone, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990. Cf. Ps. 46:4 and Rev. 22:1.
- 91 English translation from *Oktoechos*, tone 8, theotokion, www.st-sergius.org/services/oktiochos/Tone8.html. This hymn functions also as a megalynarion in the context of the Liturgy of St Basilios.
- 92 See e.g. Friday of Renewal Week, Matins, canon of the Theotokos, ode 6, heirmos, and ode 9, troparion 4, in *The Pentecostarion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1990.
- 93 The Akathist hymn to the Theotokos, oikos O, in *The Service of the Akathist Hymn*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery 1991.
- 94 For the Theotokos as *he chora tou achoretou* in the Chora church, see Ousterhout 2002. For the Chora church as a hierotopy, see Lidov 2006a: 39–40.
- 95 Lidov 2006a: 36–7.
- 96 See Russian news, photos and videos online: Newslab, 2011-08-11 <http://newslab.ru/news/375962>, Vesti.Ru www.vesti.ru/only_video.html?vid=439332.

14 | Words, water and power: literary fountains and metaphors of patronage in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium

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There is no lack of waterworks in Byzantine literature; on the contrary, fictional, factual and symbolic springs, streams and fountains abound. The exact terminology is not always clear; *πηγή* ('source'), *κρήνη* ('spring'), *ρεῦμα* ('stream'), *νᾶμα* ('running water') and *φρέαρ* ('well') may all represent what we would refer to as fountains: architectural objects featuring running water, usually being poured into a basin. Accordingly, the forms and functions of literary fountains in Byzantium vary widely depending on the setting. The 'Fountain' or 'Source of Life' (Genesis 2:10) and the 'Rivers of Paradise' offered pervasive imagery for both poetic and iconographic depiction, including the image of Christ as a source of life and the Virgin Mary as a 'Life-giving Fountain' (*Zoodochos Pege*).¹ Actual fountains were both mentioned in passing, for instance in relation to the reign of an emperor and his building projects,² and depicted in elaborate ekphrasis abounding with rhetorical and symbolical implications, such as the novelistic fountains of the twelfth century.³ Spiritual, actual and symbolical fountains were also represented artistically in manuscripts, depictions which help us reconstruct and better understand both their form and meaning.⁴ It is clear that Byzantine fountains – fictional and factual – could be seen from both practical and aesthetic perspectives: they provided water and thus life (to urban citizens and agriculture alike), but they also provided pleasure in the form of irrigated parks and gardens filled with plants and, not the least, the beauty of the running water itself.

In Byzantine literature, metaphors and imagery related to water are very frequent, in both theological and secular texts: words and prayers flow forth like rivers, a dramatic situation can be depicted like a storm at a dark and dangerous sea, or the beauty and stillness of a particular setting can be rendered in terms of a gentle spring of sweet and clear water. In this chapter I would like to focus on one specific metaphorical use of fountains, related to rhetoric and power, appearing in depictions of the relationship between the Byzantine writer and his patron. While payment is rarely openly mentioned in such situations – the exchange between, for example, an emperor and a rhetor being expressed rather in terms of friendship and gifts – there are in the eleventh and twelfth centuries some conspicuous cases of money

streaming from one direction to the other in return for words. Both water and words being invested by imperial power in a Byzantine setting, not the least in Komnenian Constantinople, this is not a far-fetched imagery. From the perspective of literary patronage – a crucial aspect of the literary production in this period – this imagery has not yet been investigated or discussed.

Patronage and friendship in the eleventh century

Byzantine patronage and how it relates to the concept of friendship has been subject to increased scholarly attention in the last few years. The focus has shifted gradually from the workings of aristocratic patronage⁵ to questions of friendship as a social and political relationship,⁶ and the specific friendship between poet and patron. In medieval times there was, of course, a thin line between friendship and patronage, and as Stratis Papaioannou has observed, ‘in Byzantium friendship more often referred to the rather fragile, asymmetrical and non-reciprocal relations of patronage and clientelism.’⁷ In this particular relationship between patron and poet the word becomes crucial not only for communication, but also as a powerful means of self-promotion and achievement of one’s goal. The goal is in most cases to become the recipient of financial support, and yet the financial transaction as such is often not explicitly mentioned and the transaction is instead described in terms of friendship and gift-giving. This particular discourse of gift-giving has recently been discussed in a series of articles by Floris Bernard, focusing on eleventh-century authors and especially Michael Psellos.⁸

Bernard argues that eleventh-century Byzantium sees ‘the creation of a discourse that convincingly proposes the idea that literature, as a symbolic and immaterial gift, can be exchanged for other, tangible goods.’⁹ Words are then offered as gifts from writers to patrons, but without mentioning the material price; the pretence is that the exchange is not economic, but ‘between friends.’¹⁰ Bernard considers this in terms of Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *méconnaissance* – the process of ignoring (or simply not expressing) the interests of giver and receiver alike.¹¹ The discourse that is created in order to sustain this process is, as a consequence, a coded way of referring to money; or, as Bernard puts it, ‘people act through representations they hold for meaningful.’¹² Perhaps most interesting in Bernard’s fine analysis of the discourse of gift-giving are the exceptions to this coded manner of speaking about a clearly financial exchange. Let us, as an example,

look at a passage by Michael Psellos, from a letter to the *megas droungarios* Konstantinos:

If I had brought you this letter for free as indeed I usually do, I would not have taken such trouble about the beauty of words; but since I am now accomplishing something more, making a purchase, or exchanging lesser things for greater, I therefore adorn for you with flowers this letter – just as in a shop – to be sold, in order that you, charmed by its manifest beauty, would buy it for however large a price.¹³

It is an interesting passage, because Psellos here openly states his material interests – to buy something with his words – thus contradicting common practice. As pointed out by Bernard, there might be a game on conventions going on here, combined with a rhetorical game on the inexhaustible source of Psellos' intellectual capacities.¹⁴ I find this explanation convincing and I would like to use it as a point of departure for discussing metaphorical depictions of patronage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with a special focus on the gradual change in imagery from one century to the next. Before turning to the Komnenian material, let us first look at another couple of Psellian passages, since the passage cited above is not an isolated case and – more importantly – because Psellos was such an important influence on writers of the following century.¹⁵

In a letter to an anonymous addressee – supposedly a friend, that is, a potential patron – Psellos offers his words in exchange for 'deeds':

We thus in some manner give and receive in turn, I bestowing words, and you returning deeds – or rather both of us do both, but my tongue has the greater part, and yours is the generous action; all the same there follows close upon my words a courteous act, and to speak well on my behalf is a prelude to your actions, and for both of us this started in the prime of youth and step by step advanced up to this point. In neither of us has our proper nature changed at all, but at every opportunity I open up my mouth for fountains of words on your behalf, and you let your repayment gush forth in return with an even greater stream, and the mixing bowl of friendship is reciprocally filled.¹⁶

Turning now from the epistolary imagery of friendship to the metaphor of waterworks as a way of representing the exchange between writer and patron, we may note how the transaction is described in terms of a reciprocal relationship with streams in two directions: the 'fountains of words' (τῶν λόγων πηγὰς) from Psellos, which are reciprocated as the patron 'gushes forth in return' (ἀνθυπερβλύζεις) with an even greater 'stream' (πλείονι ρεύματι). The mutual benefit is underlined by the recurring prefix ἀντι-, indicating the fact that the writer is not just asking for favours, but offering

something as valuable in return. We may compare this passage to another watery metaphor in Psellos' oration to Constantine IX Monomachos, concluding the praise of the emperor's generosity in the following manner:

Nor did you shut again your treasuries once opened, but you rather add to your flows, and you increase your streams, and inundate those who irrigate you, and you become a gold-flowing Paktolos, and you do not begrudge those who draw water a share of the running stream.¹⁷

Here the imagery is still reciprocal, but depicted in a less obvious manner: the emperor is described in mythological terms as the 'river of gold',¹⁸ distributing his riches in a steady and fair manner, benefiting those in need but especially, it seems, those who 'irrigate' (or 'pour over') him – supposedly those who shower him with panegyric words. A similar way of describing the generosity of the same emperor appears in a poem by Christophoros of Mitylene.

You proved to be another Paktolos, O crown-bearer;
but he, the story has it, was streaming with gold,
whereas you, mighty one, are not just streaming with gold,
but rather more streaming with honours;
for there flow from you most ungrudgingly
both streams of honours and rivers of gold.¹⁹

In Christophoros' version of the imagery, the emperor's function as a river of gold is thus expanded to include the distribution not only of gold, but also of τιμαί – honours or imperial favours. As we shall see, this particular image – the patron as a river or channel distributing gold to his writers – proves persistent and becomes central in the twelfth century.

Rivers, channels and fountains in the twelfth century

With the establishment in power of the Komnenos family, the twelfth century saw a new aristocratic ideal and thus an even stronger importance of literary patronage. The need for occasional texts of various kinds created an elaborate system of patronage and writing on commission, involving members of the imperial family, aristocrats and a large number of writers. Dependence on patronage may also be observed from the positions taken by writers who did not wish to take part in the system, who could not be flattered and were 'unable to put up with frequenting the houses of the powerful and waiting on their doors'.²⁰ It is likely that the common motif of

the starving poet should be seen in relation to the sociocultural situation, with writers expressing their frustration with the situation in playful – yet serious – complaints about the miseries of learning.²¹ Such playful complaints were in some cases presented (in rhetorical form) to the emperor, which indicates that the implications of the system were acknowledged by both sides and could be used in the coded way of communicating a need for money.

There are numerous examples of the aforementioned strategies in the extant texts, but we shall focus here only on those that express the writer–patron relation in terms of flowing words (most often panegyrics) or flowing water (money). Let us begin by examining the Paktolos metaphor. Constantine Manasses, a writer working on commission for various patrons, expands on the imagery used by both Psellos and Christophoros, employed to describe the beneficence of Constantine IX Monomachos.

The reports present this Monomachos
 as being ignorant in battles and weaponry
 but in other things magnificent, generous, refined,
 high-minded, a lover of beauty, reasonable in manner,
 a sea of generosity, a lake of very fresh water,
 from which many enjoyed beautifully flowing springs,
 from which many drew life-nourishing water.
 For he was seen pouring forth streams everywhere,
 a Paktolos whirling with gold, a Nile flowing with silver.
 The churches came to know his hands that loved beauty,
 people came to know his generous palms,
 the poor drank, drew water but with moderation,
 every sacred place enjoyed golden irrigation.
 Thus he was a shared river, forming everywhere a lake;
 for he poured out bounteous floods of gifts
 as if by watertight aqueducts, elaborately made.²²

As we can see, the imagery is much more elaborate here, and the natural rivers are now combined with man-made waterworks: the emperor provides gifts in the manner of aqueducts bringing fresh water to Constantinople. The generosity of Monomachos is described in general terms – sponsoring churches and feeding the poor – and not specifically in relation to writers, but if we follow the traces of water in Manasses' literary production, we come to his own sponsor: *sebastokratorissa* Irene.²³ We need not go any further than the opening paragraphs of the same work, where we find a praise of Irene 'constantly thirsting for knowledge, learning (*logos*), and education'.²⁴

This thirst of the patroness is supposedly quenched by the author's narrative while his burdensome work is, in turn, compensated by her gifts:

For your great gifts and your generosity
offer consolation in my literary struggles,
and the gifts, frequently poured out, besprinkle
the burning heat of toil and distress.²⁵

The image of flowing gifts in compensation for a stream of words that we noted in Psellos thus recurs in a new form, with the difference that the words offered by the writer do not form a panegyric but rather a rewriting of the tradition: 'teaching in a clear manner ancient history anew'.²⁶ We should also note that *sebastokratorissa* Irene's generosity is frequently mentioned by writers who benefited from her financial support; moreover, as pointed out in a recent article by Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'she is golden-handed, she is a veritable Paktolos flooding gold all round, streams of gold flow from her to unspecified persons, and in unspecified contexts'.²⁷ In view of such descriptions, it is indeed interesting that the grammar treatise written by Theodore Prodromos and dedicated to Irene comes down to us in a twelfth-century manuscript illuminated in no less than three places with fountains (Panaghiou Taphou 52, now in Jerusalem).²⁸ The headpiece decorating the first page of the chapter on the declension of female nouns (Ἀρχὴ τῶν θηλυκῶν κλημάτων, fol. 50v.), represents a stylised garden. On the top of the garden is a fountain flanked by two hares. In view of the female patron it is worth noting that on the same page, the initial H is anthropomorphic, formed by two female figures holding a red book.²⁹ Another headpiece (fol. 81v.), decorating the first page of the chapter on the present tense (Ἐνεστώς), is similar: a stylised garden adorned on top with a fountain flanked by two birds.³⁰ While this kind of headpiece decoration appears also in other Byzantine manuscripts,³¹ yet another illumination, adorning the end of the chapter on female paradigms (fol. 50r.), is more striking.³² It depicts an elaborate fountain surrounded by animals: fish are swimming in the green marble pool, on the one side a lion is placing his paw on the brim of the basin and from the other a griffin jumps toward the water, all while four pairs of birds fill the air and drink from the water that sprinkles from the golden centrepiece of the fountain, shaped as a pomegranate. We are certainly reminded of the novelistic fountains, and not the least of the one depicted in the twelfth-century work by Eumathios Makrembolites.³³ If Paul Magdalino is right in his assumption that the *sebastokratorissa* Irene was particularly fond of garden imagery,³⁴ the illuminations in the Panaghiou

Taphou 52 could be argued to mirror both that particular interest and her reputation as a generous distributor of gold.

We may compare Manasses' rather subtle representation of the ancient tradition as a flow that may satiate the audience with a more dramatic rendering of the same metaphor by John Tzetzes in the proem to his *Allegories on the Iliad*, written for the empress Irene (born Bertha of Sulzbach), wife of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). Here Tzetzes addresses his patroness and her command to make 'the great and deep ocean of Homer' (τὸν μέγαν τὸν βαθὺν ὠκεανὸν Ὅμηρου) accessible and passable by turning the writer into a Moses, dividing the Red Sea with his staff.³⁵ The imagery thus moves from the writer's means of slaking the thirst of his helper with his rhetorical skills to his competence in dealing with the flowing waters, indeed the great ocean, of the Homeric tradition, all in return for soothing gifts.³⁶ As a further extension of that metaphor, and at the same time a return to the imagery employed by Psellos, Tzetzes also describes his own task as rhetor to provide water in the manner of a fountain. In a letter to John Kostomou, apparently in response to flattery that Tzetzes considers exaggerated, he concludes in the following manner.

For I do not flow with nectar, as you write ('I am not a god; why do you compare me to the immortals?'), and I have no 'spring splashing in floods of words', my mouth is no Ilissus of twelve springs running from my throat, as Cratinus says. Nevertheless, if anyone should draw water from my fountains, as you say, attentively, he will not go thirsty. Moreover, if he – I avoid saying too much – skilfully digs for it and unfolds the shells of the oysters of discourse, he will even find a chip of gold, a pearl and a precious stone.³⁷

Probably speaking as much of students and readers as of potential patrons, Tzetzes is now the one that provides water (in the form of rhetoric and allegorical analysis) and, to the attentive reader/listener also riches (gold, pearls and gems).³⁸

Lead the water only to me!

It is clear from the passages quoted above that metaphors of rivers, but also channels and fountains, were often employed in the twelfth century to describe the transfer of means from patron to writer, but also to depict the production and competence of the writer. Let us now consider a text in which a writer elaborates on the metaphor in the context of a troublesome situation, offering us a glimpse of the difficult position of a writer

dependent on his 'friendships' with potential patrons. It is a letter written by Constantine Manasses, addressing the logothete Michael Hagiotheodorites and preserved in a manuscript containing several pieces by Manasses and other twelfth-century writers.³⁹

Even though Michael Hagiotheodorites does not appear by his full name in the accounts of Komnenian historians, his importance in the administration is confirmed by documentary and literary sources. As Magdalino has observed, these positions gave Michael Hagiotheodorites great wealth and opportunities for patronage.⁴⁰ Clear indications of his power and influence are offered in a surviving eulogy by Manasses (preserved in the same manuscript as the letter to be discussed here), in addition to another two encomia written by Eustathios of Thessalonike and Konstantinos Psaltopoulos.⁴¹ Manasses and Eustathios both describe Hagiotheodorites as 'the main channel through which the emperor's benefactions were distributed to all, both near and far'.⁴² According to Eustathios, he did this not only by dispensing charity directly (for instance in his capacity as *orphanotrophos*), but also by 'wielding the pen with which the emperor granted requests',⁴³ that is to say, as Logothete of the Drome (and previously in other administrative functions) he drafted imperial acts. Hagiotheodorites was also praised as a man of letters, a skilful rhetorician and, in the eulogy by Manasses, even as an iambic poet.⁴⁴

I shall not go into the details of the eulogy here; more interesting for our purpose is the letter that follows it in the manuscript and which offers a direct summary of the message of the oration. The letter runs as follows.

To a man fond of letters, to the logothete, I have composed this gift, this oration from a considerate soul. May you forgive me, you most blessed of men, that I am eager to clothe someone as great as you with a poor speech, but the reason for this is that the defence towers of my soul have been besieged by continuous siege engines of affliction. For clouds are the enemies of the rays of the sun, grievances the enemies of my heart; if there are many men who go to war, having no fair reason whatsoever to fight, which soul would endure, being both shaken by slander and hit by a battering-ram of false accusations? When a tree falls, it's not the case that no one cut it down; when a man is faring ill, it's not the case, it seems, that no one inflicted it. [So I ask] you, intervene in my misfortunes – for it is possible! And don't just intervene in not having my means cut short, but also in shutting off the malign and directing to those who are dying a flowing channel, which conducts the stream of imperial well-doing towards us. Perhaps we have sown a plant that carries generous fruits, neither useless for the Lord [Emperor] nor worth cutting off, and we have inscribed you as a saviour and raised [to you] a stele among benefactors and announced you as giver of good.⁴⁵

There are several things to note here: first, the elegant rhetorical effect of the opening sentence – Τῷ φιλολόγῳ τὸ δῶρον, τῷ λογοθέτῃ τὸν λόγον – underlining the skills of the author and at the same time recognising the literary competence of the addressee. This is a common way of addressing literary donors in the twelfth century. Second, the gift (δῶρον) is not the letter, but the oration; the letter provides a summary stating the purpose of the speech. We must assume that the letter was sent together with the oration, perhaps providing a summary for practical reasons, in case the oration would not be read in its entirety, but of course we cannot know the details of the delivery. However, the letter is followed in the manuscript by another two letters, offering some clues about the practical circumstances. The first is a letter addressing a *pansebastos kyrios* Georgios, son of the *megalos domestikos*.⁴⁶ After a fairly long description of the author's problematic situation, described in a metaphorical imagery of darkness versus light (in the form of sun and stars, i.e. emperor Manuel), the central message of the letter is briefly but clearly stated: 'I have sent the speech to the logothete, and I trust at all rate, that with your magnanimity it will be made sure that the logothete receives it in his hand and reads it.'⁴⁷ So Georgios is to make sure that the eulogy (and presumably also the letter) is properly received by the logothete, who is the man with the most influence over imperial 'channels'. The second letter seems to be a note of thanks to a friend by the name Michael Angelopoulos, who had advised Manasses to act in the manner that he did (write a eulogy and have it sent to Hagiotheodorites). Opening with a Homeric quote – 'A good thing is the persuasion of a friend' (*Il.* 11.793) – the letter expresses the author's gratitude for the advice, because he is now out of trouble.⁴⁸

We cannot know beyond doubt that the letter really refers to the eulogy and the preceding two letters, but it is an intriguing possibility. If we are to believe the dating indicated by the oration and the second letter, both mentioning a war that was fought by the Byzantine emperor in Hungary, the series of texts were probably written during the campaign of Manuel I Komnenos that took place in 1167 (at which time Michael Hagiotheodorites was indeed logothete). If that is correct, the strategy chosen by Manasses seems to have been successful, since we know that he was still writing for aristocratic patrons in imperial circles in the early 1170s.⁴⁹ It was then by mobilising his entire network – or at least one part of it – that an author could save himself from a difficult situation, having fallen out of favour with the emperor (or the aristocracy) for whatever reasons. This example from the twelfth century may be compared to the more direct situations expressed by Psellos in the letters discussed above, in which the author offered his letter as a gift, or his discourse in exchange for gifts,

emphasising the mutual profits of the interchange and presented without the apparent help of a series of significant mediators.

Turning to the metaphors employed by Manasses, we note a similar way of referring to both the relationship between poet and patron (my words for your money) and to other writers taking part in the system of patronage: the author wants not only to have the channels directed to himself (τὸ χεῦμα ... εἰς ἡμᾶς ὀχετεύουσα), but he also wants the water to be cut off from his enemies (τῷ τοῦς βασκαίνοντος εἵργειν), who are attacking him with false accusations. We may also note the expansion of the watery metaphor here, as the imagery of water and channels are combined and partly merged with that of the sun and plants: the author is like a garden that needs irrigation (money, benefaction) so that plants (discourses) can grow, ideally by the help of the life-giving rays of the sun (emperor Manuel).⁵⁰

Regardless of the real situation in which Manasses found himself – which can only be reconstructed based on these literary sources and thus remains very much part of his own rhetorical construction – the situation he describes is likely to reflect that of a Komnenian writer on command. In order to drink from the rivers of gold, you needed a fair share of the imperial sun, but since both sun and water were shared by others, you also needed to deal with foes as well as friends.

Water is power, words are power

We have seen, then, a number of variations on a set of metaphors related to water being led in one direction or the other, most often expressed in terms of rivers, channels or fountains. The use of such metaphors in describing the relationship between patron and poet is indeed not far-fetched: as established by Psellos, the mastery of *logos* (words, education, rhetorical skills) is a powerful gift; and water, especially in a city like Constantinople, is also imbued with great power.⁵¹ We may note how the flow of water (words or gold), in the examples we have considered in this chapter, even when depicted in terms of rivers rather than fountains, are never natural but always directed and manipulated by man. In this manner the metaphor seems to relate more closely to man-made waterworks well known in the capital (fountains, aqueducts, cisterns, irrigation systems) than to an actual river, which distributes water to everyone in equal measure.⁵² The metaphorical water so frequently brought forward in rhetoric of the twelfth century circulates like in an engineered water system, much like money does in the economy of the empire.

The man held responsible for the water supplies in Constantinople was the emperor.⁵³ Let us, as a final case in point, consider the water metaphors used in relation to the emperor who reigned in the period during which practically all the texts discussed here were written: Manuel I Komnenos. In the poems of the so-called Manganeios Prodromos, who produced a large number of poems for *sebastokratorissa* Irene and her immediate family, several pieces address Manuel as a golden river, a Nile flowing with gold or indeed a Paktolos distributing gold to those who are thirsty.⁵⁴ The popularity of the metaphor indicated by the Manganeios poems may be considered in relation to the humorous appearance of the golden river in Theodore Prodromos' *Sale of Poetical and Political Lives*. As Homer is put up for sale, Hermes tries to convince the hesitant buyer by pointing out the usefulness of this 'gloomy Ionian' who speaks only in hexameter: he is, in fact, a versatile man with knowledge of all kinds of things and he will even prove valuable, because 'if you desire gold, he will redirect entire Paktoloi to your house.'⁵⁵ The plural of Paktolos, probably hinting at the frequent use of the metaphor ever since the eleventh century, and the focus on the usefulness of Homer – a foremost source of rhetorical skill, as we saw above – indicates the full force of the imagery: education may 'redirect' (ὕδραγωγῆσει) towards you entire rivers of gold.

Turning to the Homeric scholar *par excellence*, Eustathios of Thessalonike, we come across the same metaphor, though used in a more serious manner. In an oration addressing Manuel, Eustathios describes his own debt to the emperor's generosity: 'you exchanged for me the mire of life for a wealth-creating Paktolos.'⁵⁶ Eustathios' successful career, and presumably also the benevolent protection of Manuel, allowed him to advance from the position of teacher of rhetoric in Constantinople to other positions within the church and eventually to become bishop of Thessalonike, all while working on his immense *Parekbolai* on Homer, the epic poet 'from whom all rivers and all fountains (*potamoi kai pegai*) of learned methods lead as though from an ocean.'⁵⁷ These were fountains which Eustathios managed so skilfully that he could take part of the emperor's river of gold.

A further appearance of Paktolos in another oration by Eustathios takes us away from scholarship and into the harsh reality of life in Constantinople. The oration takes the form of a petition (δέησις) to Manuel on behalf of Constantinople, suffering from shortage of water (ὅτε αὐτὴν αὐχμὸς ἐπιέζειν). It is not even summer, but the middle of the winter, and unlike the inhabitants of Egypt, who could look forward to the spring flood of the Nile, says Eustathios, there seems to be no hope in sight for Constantinople except the generosity of the emperor. He brings up the reconstructions

already undertaken after a difficult earthquake thanks to the emperor's generous expenditure and asks him to act in the same manner:

So become now, you greatest benefactor among emperors, just as then a gold-flowing Paktolos flowing forth much gold to spend, in that way also a Nile consoling us in springtime heat, or rather be both – gushing forth gold and thereby carrying life-giving water to your city.⁵⁸

What we have here is no less than a demonstration of the power of the metaphor, which – when we look at these examples from Eustathios – turns out to be rather a system of metaphors reflecting, on the one hand, a rhetorical and sociocultural reality and, on the other, the political system as such. Waterworks in all their forms, ranging from cisterns and aqueducts to fancy fountains in imperial gardens, were manifestations of power; sometimes a gesture of generosity, sometimes a way of impressing friends as well as enemies. As for the effect of Eustathios' plea, we know from the historian John Kinnamos that Manuel had a cistern built in 1169, which makes it probable that the oration was delivered in the winter of 1168.⁵⁹ Words clearly had power in Byzantium, and water was indeed power.⁶⁰

Notes

- 1 For discussion and further references, see the contribution of Helena Bodin in the present volume.
- 2 For examples, see Littlewood 2013: 106–7, and the chapter by Magdalino in this volume.
- 3 For further references and commentary, see the contribution of Terése Nilsson in the present volume.
- 4 For illuminations of trees, birds and fountains in the frameworks of canon tables and section headings, see Littlewood 2013: 50–1, 76 and 99–105 (with figs. 36–8, 40–2).
- 5 Starting with the pioneering study by Mullett 1984, along with some of the other contributions in Angold 1984.
- 6 Ranging from Mullett 1988 to the recent volume edited by Grünbart 2011, a result of the British Academy's *Medieval Friendship and Friendship Networks*.
- 7 Papaioannou 2010: 193. This article focuses on epistolography, as do other studies of friendship in Byzantium; the reason is, of course, the frequent expression of friendship in such a literary context.
- 8 See Bernard 2011a, 2011b and 2012.
- 9 Bernard 2012: 39.
- 10 Bernard 2012: 37–8; see also Bernard 2011a: 2.
- 11 Bernard 2011a: 2, and 2012: 38, with references to relevant works by Bourdieu.

- 12 Bernard 2011a: 2.
- 13 Psell. *Epist.* 85.17–23 (Sathas 1876): εἰ μὲν οὖν προῖκα ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον προσηγήσῃ σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐκ ἂν περὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐπραγματευσάμην τῶν λέξεων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλο τι νῦν ἐξεργάζομαι, ἐξωνοῦμενος, ἢ ἀνταλλαττόμενος τῶν κρειττόνων τὰ χείρονα, διὰ ταῦτά σοι περιανθίζω ὥσπερ ἐν πωλητηρίῳ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀπεμπολουμένην ἐπιστολήν, ἵνα δὴ τῷ φαιμομένῳ κάλλει θελχθεῖς, ὅποσουδῇποτε ταύτην πρίη [Sathas προῖη] τιμήματος. Bernard 2011a, 9, rightly notes the ambiguous term ἐπραγματευσάμην ('doing business', but also 'elaborating'), here simply translated as 'taken such trouble'.
- 14 Bernard 2011a: 10.
- 15 On Psellos' influence in the Komnenian period, see Papaioannou 2013: 254–9.
- 16 Cf. Psell. *Epist.* 11.8–17 (Maltese 1987–8): τρόπον οὖν τινα ἀντιδρῶμεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντιπάσχομεν, ἐγὼ μὲν λόγους διδούς, σὺ δὲ ἔργα ἀντιδιδούς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἄμφω ἀμφοτέροι, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πλείων ἢ γλώττα, σοὶ δὲ ἢ πράξις δαψιλεστέρα· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις πράγματι τι ἐπακολουθεῖ δεξιὸν καὶ ταῖς σαῖς πράξεσι τὸ εὖ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν προοίμιον, καὶ ἀμφοῖν ταῦτα ἐκ πρώτης ἡρκται τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ προκεχώρηκεν ἐς τοσοῦτον κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντα. καὶ οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐνήλλακται, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῷ παρασχόντι ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τῶν λόγων πηγὰς ἀνεστόμωμαι, σὺ δὲ ἀνθυπερβλύζεις τὸ εὐγνώμονεϊν πλείονι ρέυματι, καὶ γίνεται παρ' ἀλλήλοις πλήρης ὁ τῆς φιλίας κρατήρ. On this passage, cf. Bernard 2012: 39–40.
- 17 Cf. also Psell. *Or. paneg.* 2.667–9 (Dennis 1993): οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅπας ἀνοίξας τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐθις συνέκλεισας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάλλεις τῷ ρέυματι, καὶ τοὺς κρουνοὺς αὖεις, καὶ κατακλύζεις τοὺς ἐπαντλοῦντας, καὶ γίνῃ χρυσόρειθος Πακτωλός, καὶ οὐ βασκαίνεις τοῦ νάματος τοῖς ἀρύουσιν.
- 18 According to ancient Greek myth, the gold-bearing Paktolos carried golden sand ever since king Midas had washed his hands in the river; the golden river benefited especially king Kroisos of Lydia. See e.g. Hdt. 1.93.1 and 5.101.2.
- 19 Christ. Mit. *Carm.* 55.1–6 (De Groote 2012): Πακτωλὸς ὦφθης ἄλλος, ὃ στεφηφόρε· / ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς λόγος, χρυσορρόας, / σὺ δ' ὁ κραταῖος οὐ μόνον χρυσορρόας, / ἀλλὰ πλέον μάλιστα καὶ τιμορρόας· / χέουσιν ἐκ σοῦ καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονωτάτως / τιμῶν τε πηγαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ χρυσοῦ.
- 20 Nik. Bas. *Or. et ep.*, praef. 8.16–17 (Garzya 1984): εἰς τὰς τῶν δυναμένων οἰκίας οὐ θαμίζειν οὐδὲ θυραυλεῖν ἀνεχομένοις. English translation in Magdalino 1993: 336–7; cf. also 402–3, on Tzetzes' dismissal of fellow intellectuals. On the potential conflict between Constantine Manasses and Tzetzes, see Rhoby and Zagklas 2011: esp. 174–5; on that between Eustathios of Thessalonike and Tzetzes, see Cullhed 2014: 21*–24*.
- 21 On the rhetoric of poverty, esp. in Ptochoprodromos, see Beaton 1987 and 1988, Alexiou 1999. For more recent studies, see the work by Markéta Kulhánková, e.g. 2010 and 2011, and also Cullhed 2014. A particularly interesting case is the so-called fifth ptochoprodromic poem, probably written by Theodore Prodromos, addressing emperor Manuel I Komnenos, displaying a skilful rhetorical gliding from a higher stylistic level towards a lower, in order to reflect the desperation

- of the literary persona; see text in Maiuri 1919 and discussion of attribution in Eideneier 1991: 34–7.
- 22 Man. *Chron.* 6157–72 (Lampsidis 1996): αἱ φῆμαι δὲ μορφάζουσι τοῦτον τὸν Μονομάχον / τῶν μὲν μαχίμων ἀδαῆ καὶ τῆς ὀπλοφορίας, / τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεγαλοπρεπῆ, φιλόδωρον, ἀστεῖον, / λαμπρόψυχον, φιλόκοσμον, ἐπεικῆ τοῦς τρόπους, / φιλοδωρίας θάλασσαν, λίμνην ποτιμωτάτην, / ἐξ ὧν ἀπήλαυσαν πολλοὶ χευμάτων καλλικρούνων, / ἐξ ὧν ἀπήντλησαν πολλοὶ νάματα ζωτρόφα· / τὰς φλέβας γὰρ ἀπανταχῇ διακρουνίσας ὥφθη / χρυσεοδίνης Πακτωλός, Νεῖλος ἀργυροχεύμων. / ἐπέγνων τούτου καὶ ναοὶ τὰς φιλοκόσμους χεῖρας, / ἐπέγνων τούτου καὶ λαοὶ παλάμας φιλοδώρους, / οἱ πένητες ἐξέπιον, ἥντλησαν, ἀλλ' εἰς κόρον, / πᾶν τέμενος ἀπήλαυσεν ἀρδεΐας χρυσορρύτου. / οὕτω κοινὸς ἦν ποταμός, ἀπανταχῇ λιμνάζων. / ἐκένου γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφθονοχύτους χύσεις / ὥς εἰς ἀτρήτους ἀγωγοὺς τοὺς καταπονουμένους.
- 23 On the *sebastokratorissa* Irene and her function as an important patroness, see e.g. E. Jeffreys 1981, 2013; Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1994; Mullett 1984; Magdalino 1993: 348–52, 440–2; Rhoby 2009.
- 24 Man. *Chron.* 4 (Lampsidis 1996): αἰὲ διψῶσα γνώσεως καὶ λόγου καὶ παιδείας.
- 25 Man. *Chron.* 14–17 (Lampsidis 1996): παραμυθοῦνται γὰρ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μόχθους / αἱ μεγαλοδωρίαι σου καὶ τὸ φιλότιμόν σου, / καὶ τὸν τοῦ κόπου καύσωνα καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας / αἱ δωρεαὶ δροσίζουσι κενούμεναι συχνάκεις.
- 26 Man. *Chron.* 9 (Lampsidis 1996): τρανῶς ἀναδιδάσκουσιν τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας.
- 27 E. Jeffreys 2013: 180, with references (to Jakob the Monk, Manganeios Prodromos, Tzetzes, and Manasses) in n. 32.
- 28 On this manuscript, see Spatharakis 1985 and Vokotopoulos 2002: 186–9. It is richly decorated; for a list of its headpieces, headbands and anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, ornithomorphic and floral initials, see Spatharakis 1985: 232–3.
- 29 Spatharakis 1985: 233–4 and fig. 1.
- 30 Spatharakis 1985: fig. 2, and Vokotopoulos 2002: 187, fig. 89 (in colour).
- 31 See discussion and examples in Spatharakis 1985. For numerous examples, see Littlewood 2013: figs. 36b–d, 37a–d, 38a–d (in colour), with discussion at 99 and 103. See also fig. 1 in Nilsson 2013.
- 32 Spatharakis 1985: 234 and fig. 3, and Vokotopoulos 2002: 189, fig. 90 (in colour).
- 33 See the contribution by Terése Nilsson in the present volume.
- 34 Magdalino 1997: 164. It should, however, be noted that garden imagery is very frequent in many authors throughout the Komnenian century; see Nilsson 2013.
- 35 Tz. *Alleg. Il.* 19–31 (Boissonade 1851). English translation by Goldwyn and Kokkini 2015. Cf. also the imagery used in the proem to Tz. *Alleg. Od.* 1–34 (Hunger 1955–6), and most notably the end, 277–93 (Hunger 1955–6), where the oceanic imagery is picked up in terms of an oyster with a pearl found at the bottom of the sea. On the metaphor of pearl-diving, see Cullhed 2015.
- 36 On Homer as an ocean from which all rivers and fountains spring, see also Eust. in *Il.* 1.1.8–10; see further below, n. 46. On this imagery in Tzetzes and Eustathios,

- see Cesaretti 1991: 180–1 and 213–15. For a similar imagery of Homeric poetry as a golden river, see the twelve-syllable epitaph of Niketas Eugenianos on Theodore Prodromos, vv. 144–9, translated and discussed by Zagklas 2014: 61–2.
- 37 Tz. *Ep.* 76.8–17 (Leone 1972): κἄν γὰρ οὐ νέκταρ ἡμεῖς ἀπορρέωμεν, ὥς γράφεις αὐτός (οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔiskeis;), κἄν οὐ καναχῶσι πηγαὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν ῥευμάτων, οὐδὲ δωδεκάκρουνον ἔχωμεν στόμα Ἰλισσὸν ῥέον ἐκ φάρυγγος, καθά φησιν ὁ Κρατῖνος, ὅμως τῶν ἡμετέρων κρηνῶν, ὥς αὐτός φής, προσεκτικῶς εἰ ἄρύοιτο οὐ διψήσεται. εἰ δέ, μὴ μέγα εἰπεῖν, καὶ δεξιῶς μεταλλεῦσι καὶ τῶν λογικῶν ὁστρέων ἀναπτύσσοι τὰ ἔλυτρα, καὶ ψῆγμα τι χρυσίου εὐρήσει καὶ μαργαρίτιν καὶ λίθον. English translation in Cullhed 2015.
- 38 On this letter, see Grünbart 1996: 185–7, and Cullhed 2015.
- 39 Codex Marcianus Append. XI, 22; for questions of attribution, dating and further information on the manuscript, see Horna 1906.
- 40 Magdalino 1993: 256–7.
- 41 Magdalino 1993: 256, n. 94. For the encomium by Psaltopoulos, see Polemis 1995.
- 42 Magdalino 1993: 256.
- 43 Magdalino 1993: 257.
- 44 Magdalino 1993: 314. Hagiotheodorites composed an ekphrasis of a chariot race held in Constantinople on 1 Feb. 1168; for a recent analysis of Hagiotheodorites' poem and his relation to Manasses, see Marciniak and Warcaba 2014.
- 45 Man. *Ep.* 1 (Horna 1906): Τῷ φιλόλογῳ τὸ δῶρον, τῷ λογοθέτῃ τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ ψυχῆς εὐγνώμονος ἐσχεδίασα. ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνωμονίης, ἀνδρῶν ὀλβιώτατε, ὅτι πένητι λόγῳ σέ τὸν τοιοῦτον περιχλαινίζειν παρῶρμημαι, καὶ ταῦτα, ὅπηνίκα μοι τὸ περιπύργιον τῆς ψυχῆς ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἐκπεπολιόρκεται ἐλεπόλεσι θλίψεων. ἡλίου μὲν γὰρ ἀκτῖσι νεφέλαι, καρδίᾳ δὲ λῦπαι πολέμαι· εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ πολεμοῦντες, μηδεμίαν δὲ τοῦ πολεμεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες εὐλογον, τίς ἂν ὑποίσοι ψυχῇ, καὶ διαβολαῖς κατασειομένη καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ κριοκοπουμένη; καὶ δρυὸς μὲν πεσοῦσης οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐχὶ ξυλεύεται, ἀνδρὶ δὲ δυσπραγοῦντι οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὅστις οὐκ ἐπιτίθεται. ἀλλὰ σύ τι διάφερε τῶν κακῶν· ἔξεστι γάρ· καὶ μὴ μόνον διάφερε τῷ μὴ κολοῦειν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῦς βασκαίνοντας εἶργειν καὶ τοῖς ἀπεψυγμένους ὑδρορροὸς χρηματίζειν ἀμάρα, τὸ χεῦμα τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαθοποιῆας εἰς ἡμᾶς ὀχετεύουσα. καὶ γεννησόμεθα ἴσως φυτὸν καρπούς εὐγενεῖς ὁπωροφοροῦν καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ οὐκ ἄχρηστον οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐκτομῆς, καὶ σέ σωτῆρα ἐπιγραφόμεθα καὶ ἐν εὐεργέταις ἀναστηλώσομεν καὶ ὥς ἀγαθοδότην περιλαλήσομεν.
- 46 This Giorgios may be the same Palaiologos who owned an image of Odysseus and the Cyclops cut in red stone – in an ekphrasis by Manasses the owner is praised as *philologos* and *philokalos*, a wordplay similar to the one on *philologos* and *logothetis*; see Nilsson 2011: esp. 128.
- 47 Man. *Ep.* 2.17–20 (Horna 1906): ὁ εἰς τὸν λογοθέτην λόγος ἐστάλη, θαρρῶ δὲ ὅτι πάντως, ὅτι τῇ σῇ μεγαλονοίᾳ μελήσει, ὅπως καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δέξεται τοῦτον ὁ λογοθέτης καὶ ἀναγνώσεται.
- 48 Man. *Ep.* 3.1 (Horna 1906): Ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασις ἐστὶν ἐταίρου (*Il.* 11.793), φησὶν ὁ εἰπών.

- 49 Manasses composed two orations – one formal, one personal – on the death of Theodora, wife of John Kontostephanos, dated to 1172 or 1173; see Kurtz 1900.
- 50 Cf. the combination of these imageries in Manganeios Prodromos, e.g. 3.39–48 (Bernardinello 1972). On the imagery used to describe Manuel I Komnenos, see e.g. Karla 2008.
- 51 As is clear from contributions to the present volume.
- 52 Cf. the use of similar imagery in the thirteenth century by Manuel Philes, on which see Rhoby 2013: 268–72.
- 53 See the contributions by de Kleijn and Magdalino in the present volume.
- 54 See e.g. 3.2–6 (Ocean and Nile), 3.16–17 (ποταμός χρυσόρειθρος offering gold to those who are thirsty), 3.31–8 (pouring out gold from the treasury, from the golden Nile of treasures), 4.176 (χρυσορρόα Πακτωλέ), 5.6–7, 12.34–40 (Paktolos), 66–7 (to drink gold from your Paktolos), 85–92 (treasuries overflowing and turning into rivers).
- 55 Prodr. *Vit. auct.* 135–36 (La Porte du Theil 1810): Εἰ δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐρᾷς, τάχα καὶ ὅλους σοι Πακτωλοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὑδραγωγῇσει. For a recent reappraisal of this text, see Marciniak 2013. For a new edition of the satirical texts by Theodore Prodromos, including *Bion prasis*, see Migliorini 2010 (unpublished diss.).
- 56 Eust. *Or. min.* 13.56 (Wirth 2000): καὶ ἡμειψάς μοι τὸν τοῦ βίου πηλὸν εἰς πλουτοποιὸν Πακτωλὸν.
- 57 Eust. *In Od.* 1379.61–2 (Cullhed 2014): ἐξ οὗ οἶά τινας Ὠκενοῦ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι λογικῶν μεθόδων πηγαί. Translation by Eric Cullhed. Cf. also Eust. *In Od.* 1379.47–52 (Cullhed 2014): ‘However, by devising these and many similar things Homer [...] caused rivers to overflow with rhetoric as thought from a swollen stream, the very same kind of rivers that surround also the *Iliad* in particular.’
- 58 Eust. *Or. min.* 17.93–6 (Wirth 2000): Γενοῦ τοίνυν, εὐεργετικώτατε βασιλέων, ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις Πακτωλὸς τις χρυσορρόας πολὺν τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς δαπάνην προρρέων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν Νεῖλος θερινοῦ παρήγορος καύσωνος, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄμφω, χρυσὸν προβλύζων καὶ ὕδωρ οὕτως ἐποχτετεύων ζωογόνον τῇ πόλει σου.
- 59 Wirth 2000 (= Eust. *Or. min.*), 43’.
- 60 I would like to thank Jonas Ransjö, Vincent Déroche and Nikolaos Zagklas for their generous help with some of the translations in this essay. My warm thanks also to Eric Cullhed, Adam Goldwyn and Terése Nilsson for stimulating discussions on various aspects of fountains, metaphors and oysters. A special thanks to Nikos for leading me to the fountains in Panaghiou Taphou 52.

15 | Ancient water in fictional fountains: waterworks in Byzantine novels and romances

TERÉSE NILSSON

Background: the novels, the romances and their context

In the middle of the twelfth century, in the court circles of Constantinople, four writers each composed a story in which Eros is the driving force behind the events that unfold. In this role, the god causes not only happiness but also despair to the human protagonists. The basic plot, common to all four narratives, deals with a boy meeting a girl and the different obstacles and separations they face on their journey to sharing a life happily ever after. Without a conclusively established internal chronology¹ we know the following: Eumathios Makrembolites wrote *Hysmine and Hysminias* (*H&H*)² in prose, Theodoros Prodromos *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (*R&D*)³ in dodecasyllables (lines consisting of twelve syllables, as indicated by the term), his pupil Niketas Eugenianos *Drosilla and Charikles* (*D&C*)⁴ also in dodecasyllables, and Konstantinos Manasses *Aristandros and Kallithea* (*A&K*)⁵ in the so-called political verse, a fifteen-syllable verse form.⁶ The authors of these works were active during a period which has been called the Komnenian renaissance (after the imperial dynasty ruling at the time) or even the Third Sophistic, hinting at the connection with and similarity to the so-called Second Sophistic, the Greek classicising cultural movement that arose in the first century AD.⁷ The works themselves are what we today call the twelfth-century Byzantine or Komnenian novels,⁸ of which Manasses' is only preserved in fragmentary form, whereas the other three texts remain complete.

Beginning in the eleventh century, the interest in and experimentation with ancient literature rose to peak in the twelfth century. Not only were commentaries on ancient texts written by scholars like Eustathios of Thessalonike and Johannes Tzetzes, but authors themselves made use of and experimented with ancient genres and styles. The twelfth-century novels are a case in point.⁹ The writers revive the ancient Greek novel with its themes and motifs, the novels are all written in atticising Greek and the action takes place in a distant, ancient world. Some century later,¹⁰ a series of new love stories coincided with the so-called Palaiologan renaissance (likewise named after the reigning emperors).¹¹ The narratives from this period are usually

divided into two groups with translations or adaptations of Western romances on the one hand, and five original Greek compositions on the other: *Libistros and Rhodamne* (L&R),¹² *Belthandros and Chrysantza* (B&C),¹³ *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (K&C),¹⁴ *The Tale of Achilles* (or the *Achilleid*) and *The Tale of Troy* (or the *Byzantine Iliad*), all composed in the political verse.¹⁵ The authors remain anonymous, except for Andronikos Palaiologos, nephew of the first Palaiologan emperor Michael VIII, who may have written *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*.¹⁶ In contrast to the Komnenian novels, the Palaiologan romances are written in the vernacular Greek and they are all set in a time closer to the Byzantines' own, or at least contain more contemporary elements, and display motifs and topoi in common with the chivalric romances of Western Europe.¹⁷ Notwithstanding certain contemporary developments, both the Komnenian novels and the Palaiologan romances are firmly rooted in the ancient literary fiction dealing with this type of love story, sharing the basic plot of falling in love, separation, trials and reunion. Five of the ancient Greek novels, a genre arising in Hellenistic times that flourished during the Second Sophistic, have come down to us fully preserved, all prose works: *Callirhoe* by Chariton, *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesos, *Leucippe and Clitophon* (L&C)¹⁸ by Achilles Tatius, *Daphnis and Chloe* (*Daphne&Chl*)¹⁹ by Longus and *Aethiopica* by Heliodorus.²⁰

The gardens and their water sources: nature versus art

A recurring motif in most, but not all, of these ancient and Byzantine romantic tales is the garden.²¹ Even if it may seem a superfluous element to the story itself, its erotic meaning cannot be underestimated, and so it has a natural place in these love stories.²² The wording hints at eroticism and sexuality as, for instance in Achilles Tatius' ancient novel, branches intertwine, flowers mingle, leaves touch and ivy embraces trees (L&C 1.15.2–3). The female protagonist is closely linked to the garden.²³ The appearance of Drosilla, one of the Komnenian heroines, is described in terms related to nature and gardens (D&C 1.139–42):

her jaw and neck were gleaming,
her lip dripped nectar,(140)
her breast had the fresh dew of another dawn;
in her youthful vigour she was tall as a young cypress.²⁴

In books 1–5 (more than one third of the text) of the twelfth-century *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eumathios Makrembolites, most of the action

takes place in the garden belonging to the heroine's father. This is where Hysmine makes her first appearance and the couple first lay eyes upon each other (*H&H* 1.8.1–2), where the heroine teases and flirts with the confused and embarrassed hero (*H&H* 1.8.3–11.3),²⁵ where Hysminias, until now ignorant of love, is educated about (*H&H* 2.7.1–11.3) and surrenders to (*H&H* 3.8.1–3) Eros, and where they secretly meet, talk and kiss for the first time (*H&H* 4.21.1–23.4). Furthermore, throughout the novel, Hysmine is likened and linked to roses, flowers that abound in her father's garden.²⁶ At the very beginning of the novel, Hysminias is sent from his hometown Eurykomis as a herald to the city of Aulikomis in order to celebrate the Diasia, a festival in honour of Zeus. Almost immediately he ends up in the garden of his host Sosthenes (*H&H* 1.1.1–3.3). In this garden, the trees, plants and flowers seem to provide a background setting for a highly artificial fountain.²⁷ This piece of art is placed in the middle of the garden, a circular pool four cubits deep with a pillar-like water-pipe of many-coloured marble at its centre. On top of this column there is a basin of Thessalian marble, and on top of this a golden eagle is perched from whose beak water spouts down into the basin. Moreover, the pool is surrounded by crafted animals: a goat drinking water, accompanied by a goatherd, and a hare dipping his paw into the water and thus making the water hit him. An assembly of birds sits there: a swallow, a peacock, a dove and a cockerel. The water flowing from their beaks gives the birds a voice (*H&H* 1.4.1–5.8), and so makes them more lifelike and resembling the popular automata present at least in the ninth- and tenth-century imperial palace.²⁸

The ancient predecessor from whom Makrembolites draws greatest inspiration is Achilles Tatius.²⁹ Two gardens are found in his novel *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the first a painting of Europa being abducted by Zeus as the bull from a meadow by the sea (*L&C* 1.1.2–13), and the second belonging to Hippias, the father of the male protagonist (*L&C* 1.15). The natural elements, the vegetation and the sun, are described in a similar manner by both authors, but with more details and complexity by the twelfth-century Makrembolites.³⁰ In contrast to his elaborate description of the fountain, which takes up more than half of the garden ekphrasis, the water in the ancient gardens is described almost in passing (*L&C* 1.1.5–6):

Water was streaming from the middle of the pictorial meadow, some spurting up from beneath the soil, and some dribbling around the blooms and bushes. A man was pictured using a mattock to irrigate the soil, hunched over one trench and opening a channel for the stream.³¹

This is all that we are told about the water in Europa's meadow, and the water in the garden of Clitophon's father is likewise briefly described (*L&C* 1.15.6):

In the midst of the flowers a spring was spurting, and a square conduit for its stream had been traced around it by human hand. The water served as a mirror for the flowers, so that the grove seemed to be doubled, part real and part reflection.³²

These two modestly depicted springs in the ancient novel are thus turned into the much more extensive and elaborate fountain ekphrasis in the twelfth-century novel. In comparing the water of the ancient gardens and the counterpart of Makrembolites, the first striking point is that the water sources are natural, and are streaming naturally. Both of the springs are somewhat changed and affected by human interference. A man is conducting the water in the first meadow, and a basin has been constructed to gather the stream in the second garden. As opposed to the extensive human impact upon the garden in Makrembolites, these interventions seem to be slight and minimal, and the artifice characteristic for the Byzantine garden is absent. It should also be noted that Makrembolites' fountain is made of many-coloured marble, the complicated description of which links the marble to the water, since the water seems to move and flow constantly due to the stone of various hues (*H&H* 1.5.7). The natural quality of water is enhanced by the stone of the man-made fountain.³³ An amplification of this sort, by Makrembolites in the ekphrasis of the fountain, is in line with the development of the Byzantine cultural environment in which *Hysmine and Hysminias* was composed. It played with ancient styles, genres and their features, which were admired, and at the same time made something new and specific to Byzantine taste.

In another novel from the twelfth century, *Drosilla and Charikles* by Niketas Eugenianos, a similar fountain is described in the first garden ekphrasis in book 1 (*D&C* 1.77–104):

In the midst of the plain was a most delightful meadow,
 around which were beautiful bay trees,
 cypresses, planes and oaks,
 while within it there where delightful fruit trees. (80)
 There were lily plants and delightful rose bushes
 in great numbers, within the meadow.
 The buds of the roses, which were closed,
 or, more accurately, just slightly opened,
 kept the flowers in seclusion like a maiden. (85)
 One must surely understand the reason for this

to be the warming ray of the sun.
 For when it – and this is quite proper –
 thrusts its way with its heat into the buds,
 they lay bare their rose-scented charms. (90)
 There was also spring water flowing there,
 cold, clear and sweet as honey.
 There was a column rising in the middle of the spring,
 carved very skilfully on the inner surface.
 It was, as it were, a long tube, (95)
 through which the liquid rose and flowed.
 But an eagle received this –
 it was made with careful artistry in bronze and was perched up above –
 and made the water flow out from its mouth.
 Amidst the white stones of the beautiful spring (100)
 there stood a circle of well-sculpted statues:
 the figures were creations of Pheidias,
 and the work of Zeuxis and Praxiteles,
 the best craftsmen in the art of sculpture.³⁴

Just like Makrembolites, Eugenianos dedicates half of his garden description to the water element. He also begins his ekphrasis by introducing the trees occupying the edges of the garden. In this way he builds up a backdrop for the fountain, also a column with a water-spouting eagle perching on top, but of bronze instead of gold this time. Statues of some sort also surround this column, even if we cannot tell for certain what form they take. The Greek text has ἀνδριάντες, which linguistically implies human figures in contrast to the animals in Makrembolites. Another difference between the two twelfth-century writers is the location of their respective gardens. The garden of Makrembolites belongs to the heroine's father and is accordingly found by his residence in the city of Aulikomis.³⁵ The immediate surroundings of this artistic and artificial fountain then consist of a garden planted and cultivated by man in a city. As seen above, the garden of Eugenianos is placed in the middle of a plain outside the city of Barzon, where the loving couple currently resides. This places the tamed garden and its artistic water source in a natural and untamed environment. In addition, the fence or wall – always enclosing in one form or another the novelistic garden³⁶ – is a simple, wooden structure in Eugenianos (*D&C* 1.106). In Makrembolites, the wall is extremely elaborate and covered with detailed paintings representing the four Virtues (*H&H* 2.1.2–6.7), Eros (which we will return to later) (*H&H* 2.7.1–9.3) and the twelve months (*H&H* 4.4.3–16.3). To conclude, the fountains are almost identical but the outer setting differs, and the one in *Hysmine and Hysminias* could be said to represent a higher degree of 'Byzantine-ness'.

The reason why the rather plain and unsophisticated spring of the ancient novel turned into an object of art in the twelfth-century could be explained by the Byzantines' interest and taste in art. Not only did the authors of the twelfth-century novels look back to their ancient predecessors and each other in literary imitation, but in their effort to adapt and develop the ancient material, they also turned, naturally enough, to contemporary artistic taste for complex objects of art, automata and waterworks.³⁷ Fountains are mentioned and described in historical sources, among others a fountain built for Constantine VII in the tenth century with an eagle placed on the water pipe, engaged in a battle with a snake.³⁸ It is impossible to know the number of existent eagle-adorned fountains in contemporary Constantinople, but the fountains in the novels of Eugenianos and Makrembolites would then not only draw literary inspiration from one another, but also multifariously allude to real waterworks viewed and acknowledged by contemporary readers.³⁹ It has also been suggested that elements like the fountain in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, alluding to ancient models transformed according to contemporary tastes, hinted at other literary descriptions.⁴⁰ In this context, it is worth mentioning another fictional fountain, described in the fourteenth-century *Description of the Garden of St Anna* by Theodoros Hyrtakenos. The writer has been shown to take his point of departure, just as Makrembolites, in a simple description of a garden in the *Protoevangelion of James*, and transform it into a luxurious, paradisiacal space. Makrembolites could very well be one of the sources of inspiration, since the fountain in St Anna's garden shows numerous similarities to the elaborate piece of art in the twelfth-century novel.⁴¹ Just as textual description of this kind is alluded to in other ekphrastic writings, so they might refer to manuscript illustrations. A miniature in a manuscript in Iveron Monastery, Mount Athos (cod. 463), dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century and illustrating Joasaph's dream of Paradise in the hagiographic novel *Barlaam and Joasaph*, shows a fountain with an eagle on top.⁴²

The erotic water: Eros as fertiliser

Now let us turn to the water itself. Few, if any, would dispute the importance of the garden topos in the novels and romances, and its erotic implications. But without water and irrigation, there would be no gardens, and without water there would be no need for fountains. In a similar way, it could also be argued that no love stories could exist without Eros. Is it possible, then, to find any links between Eros and water, and even Eros and fountains? I

think it is, at least in the case of the fountain in Makrembolites. I would like to present this argument by once again going back to one of the ancient novels, this time to *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, in which two gardens can be found (*Daphn&Chl* 2.3.3–6.2, 4.2.1–4.1).⁴³ The one of interest to us is the first, belonging to the old man named Philetas. He tells Daphnis and Chloe about his garden, in which earlier in the day he had found a little boy running around and picking fruit. Avoiding getting caught by Philetas, the boy told him that despite his appearance he is older than Kronos, time, that he once helped Philetas to gain the love of Amaryllis and that he now is tending to Daphnis and Chloe. Just before he disappeared, Philetas caught a glimpse of his wings and bow. Even though the little boy did not state his name, the old man understands that he is Eros (*Daphn&Chl* 2.4.1–6.1). Eros also mentions the reason why this garden is in such a good shape (*Daphn&Chl* 2.5.4):

And when I've herded [Daphnis and Chloe] together in the morning, I come into your garden and enjoy your flowers and trees and bathe in these springs. That's why the flowers and trees are beautiful – because they're watered by the springs I bathe in.⁴⁴

As can be seen, Eros claims that he himself is the cause behind the natural wonders and fertility of the garden, by regularly imposing his divinity on the water, which in turn irrigates the vegetation. Not only is the garden the domain of Eros, where erotic action in different forms takes place, but in the ancient novel he shows up there, and the garden is kept beautiful and fruitful by his bathing in the springs. With his closeness to the water in mind, we will return to the garden and fountain in the twelfth-century novel by Makrembolites. As briefly mentioned, an extensively decorated wall encloses the garden (*H&H* 2.1.2–9.3, 4.4.3–16.3). One of the paintings represents Eros, and apart from his usual features – wings, fire, bow and quiver – he is seated on a golden throne surrounded by a host of cities, of people of all ages and positions, and of animals of different kinds (*H&H* 2.7.1–9.3).⁴⁵ Instead of a little boy, he is described as a μείρᾱκιον,⁴⁶ 'youth', and βασιλεύς,⁴⁷ 'emperor', both of which he is called throughout the novel.⁴⁸ To strengthen further the connection between Eros and emperor, it has been pointed out that the twelfth-century emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), who rose to power as a young man, was associated with Eros in three poems by Manganeios Prodromos.⁴⁹ Keeping in mind both the image of Eros as a fertiliser of water from Longus and Eros represented as a young emperor in Makrembolites, let us once again take a look at the embellished fountain, and more specifically, at the golden eagle sitting on top of the

marble column (*H&H* 1.5.2). The eagle is a well-known symbol of power in general and in particular of the Byzantine emperor, as is gold.⁵⁰ Since the painting on the garden wall is depicting Eros as an emperor, I would like to argue that the golden eagle in this context could be interpreted to symbolise Eros. The painting and the fountain could thus mirror each other. As he is sitting on his throne on the wall painting in the guise of a youthful emperor, Eros is also perched as an eagle on top of the fountain, with water flowing from his beak and in this way irrigating his garden. Instead of bathing in the water and thereby enriching its fertilising qualities as in Longus, according to this interpretation, Eros in the form of an eagle becomes the one containing the water or perhaps rather channelling it and spurting it forth. Even if the fountain is more decorative than functional – the text does not reveal if the fountain actually waters the garden – it is still a symbol of water as a prerequisite of the survival and existence of a garden. Correspondingly, Eros, closely associated with water as the irrigating eagle, could be said to act as the fertiliser of the erotic action. We should also note that other man-made birds (swallow, peacock, dove, cockerel) are part of the fountain, also with water flowing from their beaks (*H&H* 1.5.6). Birds have often been associated with Eros, from antiquity onwards.⁵¹ Real birds are found in the ancient novelistic gardens (*L&C* 1.15.7–8, *Daphn&Chl* 2.3.5). Philetas, the owner of the garden in Longus mentioned above, compares Eros with a young partridge (*Daphn&Chl* 2.4.2) and a nightingale's chick (*Daphn&Chl* 4.6.1), and he finds Eros' voice sweeter than a swallow's, a nightingale's and a swan's (*Daphn&Chl* 2.5.1). Moreover, after being told the story of Eros playing around in the garden, Daphnis and Chloe ask the old man whether Eros was a boy or a bird (*Daphn&Chl* 2.7.1).⁵² Makrembolites, by contrast, does not include live birds in his description; instead they have turned into the automata perching on and embellishing the fountain. Perhaps it is possible to consider his artificial birds as yet another sign indicating and enhancing the presence of Eros? Or are they supposed to make the readers think of the Erotes, who in some accounts are portrayed as the winged companions⁵³ or here even as subjects of Eros, the imperial eagle? Also the painting on the wall portraying Eros as an emperor-like figure on a throne includes a flock of birds as his slaves (*H&H* 2.9.3). Moreover, the crafted bird on top of the fountain could foreshadow the appearance of a live eagle important to the plot later on in the novel. Hysmine's father, unaware of his daughter's infatuation with Hysminias, has chosen and announced a suitable future husband for her (*H&H* 6.2), but during the sacrificial ceremonies for the upcoming wedding an eagle swoops down and snatches away the offerings, causing a hubbub among the participants and bystanders (*H&H* 6.10.1–2).

Even if the eagle is admittedly closely linked to Zeus, and the scene most definitely is an allusion to an almost identical incident in Makrembolites' main ancient model *Leucippe and Clitophon* (*L&C* 2.12.1–2),⁵⁴ the bird of prey could in this episode also symbolise Eros not sanctioning the marriage between Hysmine and the youth intended by her parents. One allusion does not necessarily exclude another.

Water as a prerequisite for erotic action

As I have tried to show, each physical aspect of the garden – the natural vegetation and the water, as well as the artificial wall and fountain – could be said to be permeated by Eros.

Next, I would like to linger on the importance of water for the erotic action in the novel by Makrembolites, by turning to Hysmine, the heroine. As has been pointed out in a number of investigations, the female protagonists of the novels and romances are intimately connected to the gardens. It has been argued that the fountain ekphrasis is mirrored in the description of Hysmine (*H&H* 3.6.1–4) by showing a similar harmonious and flawless symmetry. This would also put her in the very middle of the garden.⁵⁵ Hysmine's first appearance in the novel is, appropriately enough, in the garden during the welcoming dinner in Hysminias' honour. Her father assigns her the task of mixing and serving the wine. She prepares herself by washing her hands in the water coming from the dove's beak. To mix the wine she fills a pitcher with water from the eagle's beak and then carefully washes the cups (*H&H* 1.8.1–2). In this way, water from the fountain and from its eagle plays a significant role in that it leads to the first interaction between the couple. The one carrying the water is the one making contact; Hysmine brings the cup to Hysminias and bids him welcome with a whisper (*H&H* 1.8.3). Hysminias, as the narrator of the story, claims that nothing is more delightful than water for a thirsty and hot man (*H&H* 1.8.4). In so doing, he acknowledges that the water-mixed wine brought to him by Hysmine is a most pleasant gift and, if we accept the water as an erotic component, he also unconsciously comments upon love. The second time Hysmine brings him a cup, she touches his foot with her own and does not remove it until he has finished the cup of wine. She approaches him a third time, and as he tries to take the cup from her hand, she holds on to it, thus taking the initiative in this tug-of-war game (*H&H* 1.9.1–2). The fourth and final time she offers him the wine, Hysmine takes the chance to look Hysminias intently in the eyes, press his finger and gently sigh (*H&H*

1.11.2–3). Having finished the dinner, Hysminias is accompanied to his chamber by his hosts, and Hysmine washes his feet (an honour paid to heralds) with water fetched from the fountain (*H&H* 1.12.1–3): ‘she holds them, she clasps them, she embraces them, she presses them, she kisses them silently and sneaks a kiss; eventually she scratches me with her fingernails and tickles me.’⁵⁶

It has been suggested that the garden could be read as a symbol of complete male control – the male gardener in charge of the female garden – or the fragility of the male control – the garden is after all the woman’s domain and there she is in charge.⁵⁷ Applied to the couple’s first meeting in the novel of Makrembolites, Hysminias seems to be in anything but control in the dinner-scene taking place in the garden: it is Hysmine who takes on the active part, both regarding action (serving the wine) and behaviour (flirting). What makes her games possible is, at least in part, water. This is the beginning of the love story and, as shown, water – the foremost fertiliser – from the fountain – presided over by Eros as an eagle – could be considered a vital element in setting the story off.

The task of carrying water also occurs in the fourteenth-century romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*. In the latter part of the story, a king enchanted by her beauty abducts the heroine (*K&C* 1283–1323). When Kallimachos finds out about her whereabouts, he is also told that the only thing that eases her lamentation and misery is water (*K&C* 1485–1610). He goes to the castle and is engaged as the helper to the palace gardener and his main duty turns out to be delivering water to the unhappy queen (*K&C* 1611–1847). After she has recognised him, they work out a scheme to be able to meet secretly and spend the nights together (*K&C* 1850–2120). Just as in Makrembolites, one half of the couple brings water to the other half. Here the roles have been switched, so that the male protagonist takes care of this. The water itself is not involved in any flirting act like foot washing, but the water-carrying task leads to progress in the love story. As a matter of fact, the outcome is as erotic as can be: Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe end up having sex.⁵⁸ This is also an example of where the double entendre of water shines through: in all novels, ancient and Byzantine alike, the characters wish to extinguish painful feelings caused by love. In the ancient novel by Longus, Daphnis, still ignorant of love, tries to drink water to extinguish the burning heat he feels whenever close to Chloe (*Daphn&Chl* 1.23.2). For Chrysorrhoe, water is the only thing bringing her comfort when she thinks that Kallimachos is dead. When he turns up, the water transforms into an important component of their reunion. If we turn back to twelfth-century Makrembolites and an erotic dream haunting Hysminias, water is closely

linked to erotic action. In his dream, the couple have ended up in a bath-house, kissing and playing around in the water (*H&H* 5.1.4):

Intending to sport passionately, the dream set fire to the bath and, intensifying my thirst and contriving my conflagration, it presented me with the girl's breast as sweetly gratifying fountains. Pressing these to my mouth it dowsed my soul's heat in the springs of icy pleasure that were sweeter than nectar. And finally it laid us to rest in each other's arms.⁵⁹

Watery vocabulary

To emphasise further the connection between water and erotic passion, I draw attention to a fragment of the twelfth-century novel *Aristandros and Kallithea* by Konstantinos Manasses. Due to its fragmentary form we cannot know if there were any gardens or water or fountains in the novel, but the author describes what happens when beauty hits man (*A&K* frag. 11):

Nothing exists that is so likely to enslave even the bold-hearted
as a garden of beauty and a grove of comeliness.
For the conduit for beauty flows through the eyes
and enters the heart and softens the soul,
even if it finds a furnace of wrath and a blazing fire of anger (5)
it bedews the rage and quenches the anger,
it becomes a salamander and extinguishes the flame;
but in turn it kindles another furnace and fire,
where the Erotes stoke the furnace and Desire pumps the bellows,
sparking the flame with invisible flints.⁶⁰ (10)

The vocabulary describing beauty's impact on man makes us think of water: beauty flows in a channel or water pipe, it bedews, quenches and extinguishes anger and also turns into a salamander, a creature believed since ancient times to resist and put out fire.⁶¹ On the other hand it kindles a further kind of flame, feelings of love. In another fragment of Manasses, the same water-related vocabulary recurs and links water to Eros (*A&K* frag. 89):

For beauty wounds more sharply than an arrow
and, flowing through the eyes with a swooshing sound, it rushes into the soul;
the glance functions as an aqueduct
for Eros' conduits and Desire's streams
and it channels the Erotes' currents into the soul.⁶² (5)

This paradoxical nature of Eros, both refreshing and consuming, is also manifest in a kind of fountain in the fourteenth-century romance *Belthandros and Chrysantza*. After a quarrel with his father, Belthandros leaves his home country, and during his wanderings he comes across a fiery river made up of both water and fire. In his search for its source he reaches the Castle of Eros. Upon entering, he finds two statues of human appearance with inscriptions that reveal to him the name and whereabouts of his future love (*B&C* 1–425). The passage is linguistically tricky and it is not clear if the flaming river originates from both statues or from just one of them.⁶³ Whether or not this could be called a fountain, the fact remains that once again water plays a significant role in the love story, and the symbolism of the twofold character of Eros can hardly be missed. The supernatural nature of the river is a typical example of the direction in which the romances of the fourteenth century are heading. Fairy tale elements can be found throughout stories and play an important role in the plot. Just like the embellished fountain in twelfth-century *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Makrembolites can be said to reflect contemporary taste, the supernatural river of water and fire in *Belthandros and Chrysantza* represents an element unique for and specific to the Palaiologan narratives. Still sharing the basic plot – falling in love, trying separations and blissful reunion – the later romances also have something of their own – the fairy tale component – to set them apart from their earlier models.

A fountain illuminated

In the early sixteenth-century manuscript transmitting the one existent version of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* and two of the six versions of *Libistros and Rhodamne* we find the only miniature illuminating the vernacular romances (plate 11).⁶⁴ On the left Eros shoots an arrow, which hits a girl reclining on a couch on the right, and between the god and the heroine there is a fountain.⁶⁵ Due to its placement in the manuscript at the point of the story where Rhodamne dreams of getting shot in the heart by a winged boy, the miniature is clearly meant to illuminate specifically *Libistros and Rhodamne*. Even if neither fountain nor spring of any sort appears in the dream, there is one included in the illumination as its centrepiece, between Eros and the heroine. This seems to indicate that readers of the novels and romances somehow expected a fountain in connection with the love story, presumably based on their reading of other novels such as Makrembolites'. Moreover, the motif of the illumination very well suits the other novels and

romances: Eros as the driving force behind the love story, the girl as one of the protagonists (often more conspicuous than her male counterpart) and the irrigating and refreshing fountain as a fertilising symbol, watering not only nature but also the plot. The exterior of the fountain in the miniature shares more features with the fountains of the twelfth-century novels than the fourteenth-century romances, since it has a more 'realistic' appearance; roaming the streets of contemporary Constantinople one could very well have stumbled across a fountain similar to the eagle-crowned one in the Komnenian *Hysmine and Hysminias* and *Drosilla and Charikles* respectively. The above-mentioned waterwork in *Belthandros and Chrysantza* emitting the supernatural flaming stream does not have much in common with the miniature fountain, nor does another fountain in the form of a griffin, which actually moves and walks away when admired by Belthandros (*B&C* 299–315). Two pools are described in *Libistros and Rhodamne* as well, but the fountain of the miniature can hardly depict either one of them. The first one occurs in a dream of Libistros, a pillar standing in a pool with a marble basin on top housing a man warning Libistros not to scorn love (N367–N395). In the castle where Rhodamne lives, the pool and the surrounding boy statues engaged in different water-related activities are entirely made of glass (S1318–S1369). It has been convincingly demonstrated that the later Palaiologan romances reused material from the earlier novels of the Komnenian period.⁶⁶ Based on this it is easy to imagine that the illuminator of the manuscript (or his commissioner) was aware of the earlier tradition and that he consciously or unconsciously let this inspire him to include the fountain as part of the miniature.

Concluding remarks

As we have seen, water and fountains seem to have a connection to Eros and what he represents. It has been argued that the water sources and fountains in these fictional accounts symbolise and further strengthen the presence of erotic action, whether in the form of a 'natural' spring in the ancient novels, or the 'realistic' fountain of the twelfth-century novels, or the fairy tale-influenced waterworks of the vernacular romances from the fourteenth century. Eros is constantly present in different manifestations: he himself bathes in the ancient garden of Longus, the water-spouting eagle perched on top of Makrembolites' fountain could be said to symbolise him, and the blazing river in fourteenth-century *Belthandros and Chrysantza* represents Eros' refreshing and, at the same time, consuming powers. We have also

seen water being used by protagonists of both Komnenian and Palaiologan narratives as a means to achieve erotic action: Hysmine's flirting during the dinner scene and the foot-washing procedure in Makrembolites' novel, and Kallimachos carrying water to Chrysorrhoe leading to their love-making in the fourteenth-century romance. Moreover, the vocabulary of the novels further strengthens the erotic associations of the water or fluid, as beauty flows through the eyes and affects the heart and soul of the observer. No wonder, then, that the fountain finds its place in the image of Eros piercing a woman's heart with his arrow, illustrating the story of Libistros and his darling Rhodamne – his arrows defy water but also use it as a conveyor of passion.

Notes

- 1 For the latest summary and discussion of chronology, see E. Jeffreys 2012: 7–10, 161–5, 275–6, 342–3.
- 2 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Marcovich 2001.
- 3 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Marcovich 1992.
- 4 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Conca 1990.
- 5 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Mazal 1967.
- 6 For fuller studies of the twelfth-century texts, see Mazal 1967, Beaton 1996, MacAlister 1996, Nilsson 2001, Roilos 2005 and Meunier 2007. English translations including concise up-to-date introductions to and brief commentaries of the texts are found in E. Jeffreys 2012.
- 7 For the twelfth-century historical background, see Magdalino 1993, and for the cultural upswing in particular, see Ferruolo 1984, Magdalino 1993: 382–412 and Kaldellis 2007: 225–316.
- 8 To distinguish between the two periods during which the texts concerned were written, I follow the conventional practice in Byzantine studies of terming the twelfth-century love stories 'novels' and their fourteenth-century counterparts 'romances', see Agapitos 1991: 4, n. 5.
- 9 For a brief summary of the cultural development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Nilsson 2001: 28–36 with further references.
- 10 Again the dating is not conclusive. For a possible dating, internal order of the works and further references to discussions thereof, see Agapitos 2004: 12–13.
- 11 For the cultural revival in Palaiologan times, see Ševčenko 1984 and Gaul 2011: 15–21.
- 12 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Lambert 1935.
- 13 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Kriaras 1955.
- 14 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Pichard 1956.

- 15 For fuller studies of the fourteenth-century romances, see Agapitos 1991 and Beaton 1996. English translations of *Libistros and Rhodamne*, *Belthandros and Chrysantza* and *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* are available in Betts 1994.
- 16 Pichard 1956: xxiii–xxxi and Betts 1994: 33–4.
- 17 Cupane 1974 sees the transformation of the boyish Eros into the youthful king-like god of love in both Komnenian and Palaiologan narratives as an influence from the Western medieval romances. See also Cupane 2000 for an updated and revised discussion on the subject. In Cupane 1978, the castle incorporated in the fourteenth-century texts is understood as a Western element revealing the Byzantine authors' knowledge of the Western romances. Beaton 1996: 154–63 supports and develops these ideas.
- 18 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Vilborg 1955.
- 19 For the Greek text I cite and refer to Reeve 1982.
- 20 For the Second Sophistic, see G. Anderson 1993, Whitmarsh 2001b, 2005. For the ancient Greek novels, see Hägg 1983, Morgan and Stoneman 1994, Tatum 1994, Schmeling 2003 and Whitmarsh 2008. For novels fragmentarily preserved, see Stephens and Winkler 1995. Translations of both fully preserved ancient novels and fragments of ancient novels are found in Reardon 1989.
- 21 For a general introduction to both real and fictional gardens in Byzantium, see Littlewood 2013 with further references, esp. 99–110 on fountains.
- 22 Littlewood 1979: 97. For a list of gardens in the novels and romances, see Littlewood 1979: 110–14.
- 23 For the heroine's association with the garden, see Littlewood 1979: 98–107, Barber 1992: 14–19 and Nilsson 2001: 99–100 and 114–17.
- 24 ἡ γνάθος, ὁ τράχηλος ἐστιλβωμένα,
τὸ χεῖλος αὐτῆς νέκταρ ἦν ἀπορρέον, (140)
τὸ στέρνον ἄλλην εἶχεν ὀρθρίαν δρόσον,
ἥβης τὸ μέτρον ὡς κυπάριττος νέα.
Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012. Cf. also R&D 6.291–302, where Rhodanthe is similarly described in terms of vegetal imagery.
- 25 For a discussion on Hysmine's flirting by means of water, see later in this chapter.
- 26 For a discussion on Hysmine's connection with roses, see Nilsson 2001: 114–17. With the female protagonist as one half of a love couple, it is hardly surprising that the erotic implications of the garden setting are most prominent. But the educated reader of the twelfth-century novels most likely recognized the Marian imagery as well, which offers supplementary nuances of, and not conflicting information about, the heroines; indeed, their chastity is emphasised throughout the novels, for instance Hysmine is subjected to and passes two virginity tests (*H&H* 11.16.1 and 11.17.2–4). For Marian imagery, see Littlewood 1979: 104–5 and Bodin 2013 and in this volume for a discussion of the garden setting of the Mother of God in Byzantine hymnography.
- 27 Barber 1992: 6.
- 28 On automata in the imperial palace, see Brett 1954.

29 Nilsson 2001.

30 Nilsson 2001: 209–10.

31 ὕδωρ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶνος τῆς γραφῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀναβλύζον κατώθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς περιχεόμενον. ὀχετηγὸς τις ἐγγράπτο δίκελλαν κατέχων καὶ περὶ μίαν ἀμάραν κεκυφῶς καὶ ἀνοίγων τὴν ὁδὸν τῷ ρεύματι. Translation in Whitmarsh 2001a.

32 ἐν μέσοις δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι πηγὴ ἀνέβλυζε καὶ περιεγγράπτο τετράγωνος χαράδρα χειροποίητος τῷ ρεύματι. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀνθέων ἦν κάτοπτρον, ὡς δοκεῖν τὸ ἄλσος εἶναι διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς σκιάς. Translation in Whitmarsh 2001a, revised.

33 For many-coloured marble representing natural and terrestrial elements such as flowers and rivers, see H. Maguire 2011.

34 Λειμῶν γὰρ ἦν ἡδιστος αὐτῆς ἐν μέσῳ,
οὐ κυκλόθεν μὲν ἦσαν ὥραϊται δάφναι
καὶ κυπάριττοι καὶ πλάτανοι καὶ δρύες,
μέσον δὲ δένδρα τερπνὰ καὶ καρποφόρα. (80)

Πόα τε κρίνων καὶ πόα τερπνὴ ῥόδων
πολλὴ παρῆν ἐκεῖσε, λειμῶνος μέσον·
αἱ κάλυκες δὲ τῶν ῥόδων κεκλεισμέναι
ἢ μᾶλλον εἶπεῖν μικρὸν ἀνεωγμέναι
ταύτην ἐθαλάμευον ὥσπερ παρθένον. (85)

Τούτου δὲ πάντως αἰτίαν λογιστέον
θερμαντικὴν ἀκτῖνα τὴν τοῦ φωσφόρου·
ὅταν γὰρ αὕτη – καὶ καλῶς οὕτως ἔχει –
μέσον καλύκων φλεκτικῶς ἐπεισβάλῃ,
γυμνοῦσιν αὗται τὴν ῥοδόπνοον χάριν. (90)

Καὶ νᾶμα πηγιμαῖον ἦν ἐκεῖ ῥέον,
ψυχρὸν διείδες καὶ γλυκάζον ὡς μέλι.
Κίων δέ τις ἀνεῖχε τῆς πηγῆς μέσον,
ἔσωθεν οὕτω τεχνικῶς γεγλυμμένος·
σολῆνι μακρῷ δῆθεν ἐξεικασμένος, (95)

δι' οὗ τὸ ῥυτὸν ὑπανήκετο τρέχον·
πλὴν ἀετός τις τοῦτο προσδεδεγμένος
– χαλκοῦς γὰρ ἦν ἀνωθεν ἐστῶς εὐτέχνως –,
ἐξῆγε τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς καταρρέον.

Λευκῶν δὲ πετρῶν τῆς καλῆς πηγῆς μέσον (100)
ἀγαλμάτων ἔστηκεν εὐξέστων κύκλος·
οἱ δ' ἀνδριάντες ἦσαν ἔργα Φειδίου
καὶ Ζεύξιδος πόνημα καὶ Πραξιτέλους,
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων εἰς ἀγαλματοργίαν.
Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012, revised.

35 Hysminias is in fact lodging adjacent to the garden (*H²H* 3.8.1).

- 36 Except the garden on the island in *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (*K&C* 831–40), but the surrounding water forms a natural barrier, as pointed out by Littlewood 1979: 107.
- 37 Hunger 1968: 72–3 and Nilsson 2001: 102–3.
- 38 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker 1838: 451; tr. Mango 1972: 208. For other fountains decorated with water-spouting animals in the Great Palace area as described in historical sources, see Littlewood 2013: 106–7. See also Magdalino in this volume.
- 39 Cf. Littlewood 2013: 39 where it is argued that imaginary gardens draw inspiration from real gardens, and Littlewood 2013: 108–9, where actual fountains allegedly serve as models for their fictional counterparts.
- 40 Nilsson 2001: 103.
- 41 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002 offers an analysis of this ekphrastic text and a discussion on possible, or rather probable, allusions to both ancient and Byzantine novelistic literature, along with reconstructions.
- 42 Pelekanidis 1974–91: vol. II, 79 ill. 106. See also Broilo in this volume.
- 43 For gardens representing a pastoral within a pastoral, see Forehand 1976: 105.
- 44 νῦν δὲ Δάφνιν ποιμαίνω καὶ Χλόην, καὶ ἡνίκά ᾧν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἓν συναγάγω τὸ ἐωθινόν, εἰς τὸν σὸν ἔρχομαι κῆπον καὶ τέρπομαι τοῖς ἀνθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς κὰν ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις λούομαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ φυτὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λουτροῖς ἀρδόμενα. Translation in Gill 1989.
- 45 Also note that Eros holds sway over creatures of the sea in Makrebolites' and Manasses' novels, see *H&H* 1.10–11 and *A&K* fr. 21 and 21a.
- 46 Eros as μείρακιον at *H&H* 2.7.2, 2.7.3, 2.7.4, 2.7.5, 2.8.1, 2.9.1, 2.10.2, 2.10.3, 2.10.5, 3.1.2, 3.1.3, 3.6.4, 11.4.2, 11.4.3, 11.4.5, 11.14.1 as μείραξ at *H&H* 2.9.3, 2.10.1.
- 47 Eros as βασιλεύς at *H&H* 3.1.2, 3.1.4, 3.1.5, 3.1.6, 3.8.3, 4.20.4, 7.17.5, 7.17.7, 7.18.3, 7.18.4, 7.18.5, 9.18.2.
- 48 For the portrayal of Eros as emperor and different theories as to why Eros transformed from a childlike god to an imperial youth, see Cupane 1974; Cupane 2000; Magdalino 1992; Beaton 1996: 155–8.
- 49 Magdalino 1992: 200–2.
- 50 *ODB* s.v. 'eagles' and 'gold'.
- 51 In Aristophanes' *Birds* Eros is even claimed to be hatched from an egg and birds to be his first offspring (*Ar. Av.* 693–9).
- 52 For the connection between Eros and birds in Longus, see Chalk 1960: 36–7.
- 53 For a novelistic example, see the Erotes portrayed in the painting of the abduction of Europa in *L&C* 1.1.13.
- 54 Nilsson 2001: 222–4 compares and discusses the eagle episode in each novel.
- 55 Nilsson 2001: 101–2.
- 56 /.../ συνέχει τούτους, κατέχει, περιπλέκεται, θλίβει, ἀποφῆτὶ φιλεῖ καὶ ὑποκλέπτει τὶ φίλημα· καὶ τέλος ἀμύπτουσα τοῖς ὄνυξι γαργαλίζει με. Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012.

57 Barber 1992: 14–19.

58 Water continues to prove essential to *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (K&C 292–354, 768–96) and its erotic theme, since the protagonists make love there, see Agapitos 1990. Cf. also Barber 1992: 10–14. The role of the water-carrying gardener is examined, but in Barber's analysis the focus is on the repression of the king's desire. The consoling role of the water, i.e. the only thing that eases Chrysorrhoe's pain of separation from Kallimachos, is thwarted when her lover turns up and begins to supply her with water. This is what unites them and fulfils *their* desire, but consequently ruins the king's hope to satisfy his.

59 Καὶ θέλων παίζειν ἔρωτικῶς τὸ λουτρὸν ἐξεπύρωσε· καὶ με καταδιψήσας καὶ τεχνικῶς κατακαυματώσας τοὺς μαστοὺς τῆς κόρης κρουνούς μοι παρῆχε γλυκάζοντας· οὓς τῷ στόματι παραθέμενος τῆς ψυχῆς μοι τὸ καῦμα κατέψυχε, ψυχρὰν ἡδονὴν πηγάζων γλυκυτέραν καὶ νέκταρος, καὶ τέλος ταῖς ἀλλήλων ὠλέναις ἡμᾶς κατεκοίμισεν. Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012.

60 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω πέφυκε δουλοῦν καὶ θρασυσπλαγχνούς
ὡς κῆπος ὠραιότητος, ὡς εὐπρεπείας ἄλσος.
ὁ γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους ὀχετὸς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν εἰσρέων
εἰς τὴν καρδίαν κάτεισι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν θηλύνει,
κἂν εὖρη κάμινον θυμοῦ καὶ πῦρ ὀργῆς παφλάζον, (5)
δροσίξει τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν μαραίνει
καὶ σαλαμάνδρα γίνεταί καὶ σβέννυσσι τὴν φλόγα,
ἄλλην δὲ πάλιν κάμινον καὶ πῦρ ὑπανακαίει,
ὧν Ἔρωτες καμινεῦται καὶ φουσητὴρ ὁ Πόθος,
ἐξ ἀφανῶν ἀνάπτοντες τὴν φλόγα πυρεκβόλων. (10)
Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012, revised.

61 E.g. Aristotle in his *History of Animals* mentions the salamander's fire-extinguishing quality (Arist. *Hist. an.* 552b).

62 Τὸ κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει καὶ βελέμνου
καὶ δι' ὀμμάτων εἰς ψυχὴν ἐπιρροιοῦν εἰσρέει,
Ἔρωτες δὲ τοῖς ὀχετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ῥοαῖς τοῦ Πόθου
καθάπερ ὕδραγγιον καθίσταται τὸ βλέμμα
καὶ τῶν Ἐρώτων εἰς ψυχὴν τὸν ῥοῦν ἐποχετεύει. (5)
Translation in E. Jeffreys 2012, revised.

63 Betts 1994: 2–4 discusses the episode and argues that the mixed river stems from one statue, while Beaton 1996: 112 claims that the water element has its origin from one statue and that the fiery portion comes from the other.

64 Leiden University Library, Codex Lugdunensis Scaligeranus 55, fol. 62r.

65 Cf. Agapitos 1991: 24 n. 17, 126 n. 208.

66 Beaton 1996: 147–54 with further references.

Introduction

Situated less than a kilometre outside the Theodosian Walls, the shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege lay in a bucolic setting, surrounded by cypresses and flower-filled meadows. Founded in the late fifth or early sixth century, the church was located at the site of a holy spring, or *hagiasma* (ἁγίασμα), whose reputation for miraculous healing led to its becoming one of the most important shrines of Byzantine Constantinople, a site of pilgrimage for both inhabitants of and visitors to the city. The shrine survives today, although almost nothing remains of the Byzantine buildings that once stood in the area. The present church dates to the nineteenth century and was built following several significant breaks in the shrine's history. The first of these took place during the Latin occupation of Constantinople in the thirteenth century, while the second followed the Ottoman conquest in 1453, when the shrine lay virtually abandoned until the eighteenth century.¹ Following both interludes the shrine was revived and the spring regained its reputation through new miracles, serving once again as the agent of the Mother of God.

The shrine at the Pege was a site of healing. This role was celebrated from the fourteenth century in the epithet given to the spring at the shrine, the *Zoodochos Pege* ('life-receiving' or 'life-containing source', often translated into English as 'life-giving'), a term also used from an earlier point for the Theotokos herself. The shrine also was understood to have a defensive function, and a few sources contain brief references to its participation in the city's spiritual defence and the role of the Theotokos as its defender. However, this notion was less well developed than for a nearby shrine at Blachernae, which in the early seventh century was enclosed within the city walls and became the site of a major imperial palace.

Sources describing the shrine indicate that its relationships with the emperor and the city were fundamental to how it was understood, and also that conceptions of the Pege shifted significantly between the middle and late Byzantine periods. This chapter will explore the shrine's role as a site of healing, of defence and as a site of imperial patronage, with emphasis placed

on the water of the spring and how it featured in these conceptualisations. The analysis will focus primarily on sources from the middle Byzantine period, in particular the *Anonymous Miracles of the Pege*, composed in the mid-tenth century, but it will also consider the results and implications of work done by other researchers on later sources for the shrine, notably the *logos* of the fourteenth-century church historian, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, which has recently been studied by both Alice-Mary Talbot and Stephanos Efthymiadis.²

The site and meaning of the Pege

The precise origins of the shrine at the Pege are disputed. Two competing versions of the foundation of a church on the site of the holy spring appear to have been current in Constantinople at least by the tenth century, attributing its construction either to Leo I (r. 457–74) or Justinian I (r. 527–65). Procopius of Caesarea attributes the foundation to Justinian, and this is repeated by numerous later writers, including George Kedrenos.³ While Procopius does not specify the date of the building, Kedrenos dates the foundation to 560, near the end of Justinian's reign. An earlier text, the tenth-century compilation known as the *Patria of Constantinople*, seems to date it to 537, the year in which Hagia Sophia was completed, and asserts that the surplus building materials from the Great Church were used to construct the church at the Pege.⁴ The *Patria* describes how, while out hunting in Thrace, Justinian was struck by the sight of a large crowd of people visiting a small shrine inhabited by a single monk. Upon learning that this was the site of a healing spring (ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἰαμάτων), Justinian ordered a new church to be built there. Of course, given the nature of the *Patria* as a collection of myths and legends attached to the city of Constantinople and its buildings, this detail cannot be taken as fact, any more than Procopius' failure to mention such a building can be taken as solid evidence of its absence. Moreover, the acts of a council held in 536 under Patriarch Menas mention a priest called Zenon, identified as an abbot at the monastery of the Pege, supporting the presence of a pre-Justinianic foundation at the site.⁵

The *Anonymous Miracles of the Pege* was likely composed around the same time as, or slightly earlier than, the *Patria*. It survives in a single twelfth-century manuscript (Vaticanus graecus 822), and lists forty-seven miracles performed by the Pege approximately between the years 450 and 950. Here we are presented with the story of Leo I's foundation of the shrine, which forms the first of these miracles. While still a common soldier, Leo

encountered a blind man on the road and guided him until they reached the site of the holy spring at Pege, which at this time 'did not yet have clear water, but was a deep marsh and filled with mud'. The blind man became thirsty, and Leo sought in vain to find fresh water until a voice assured him there was water in the area, and then guided him to smear the mud and slimy water on the blind man's eyes. This miraculously restored the man's sight, and thus, years later when he became emperor, Leo had the *hagiasma* cleaned and built a 'refuge' (καταφύγιον) over the spring, 'which can be seen even to this day'.⁶ Talbot suggests that this building may later have been incorporated into the crypt of the Justinianic foundation, which would account for the *Patria's* claim that an earlier building stood on the site.⁷ Since this account does not suggest that Leo erected a complete church at the site – and indeed, goes on to attribute the building of a 'great church' there to Justinian, after drinking the Pege's water cured his urinary infection – the two accounts are not incompatible, suggesting a gradual development of the shrine between the late fifth and early sixth centuries, from a simple monastic foundation to a church that benefited from regular imperial patronage.

Springs as sources of healing are a commonplace in the ancient world, particularly given the real health value of hot springs. Holy springs like the Pege were a familiar feature before Christianity and in some instances springs associated with pagan deities were Christianised, with saints taking the place of earlier dedicatees (as happened at Pythia Therma in Bithynia).⁸ Some of these springs were believed to be the result of direct actions on the part of saints that created the *hagiasmata*, while others, like the Pege, functioned more as conduits to holy figures who acted through naturally occurring springs. The account from the *Anonymous Miracles* suggests that the Pege should be placed in this tradition, although there is no further evidence to pursue its earlier history. The Pege's waters were cold and this is emphasised on occasion to indicate their miraculous nature, such as when they heal people suffering from diseases for which warm water is recommended as a cure.⁹ In Constantinople springs were also considered to be particularly healthy sources of drinking water, preferable to water kept in the city's cisterns. Thus we find an anonymous writer, possibly from as early as the seventh century, recommending that, of all the sources of water, natural spring water was most preferable for drinking.¹⁰

The role of water in the life of the city, and thus its additional meaning as a source of healing and health, is also reflected in the location of the shrine beyond the city walls. The suburbs were considered places of restorative repose and leisure, away from the stresses and unhealthy pressures of the

busy city, and they were populated by numerous imperial retreats, villas and palaces, as well as large parks and hunting estates. It was, moreover, from the extra-mural hinterland of the city that the majority of its fresh water was drawn, via aqueducts into the city. The suburbs were thus a natural location for the site of a water-based healing sanctuary, and the restfulness and idyllic nature of the Pege's setting are emphasised in Procopius' account: 'In that place is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water – all especially suitable to a sanctuary.'¹¹

The *Patria's* assertion that it was while hunting that Justinian came across the site of the spring also indicates the continuing role in the middle period of the suburban regions as sites of imperial leisure. This is confirmed by Anna Komnene's mention of a park called the Aretai, which she describes as possessing a 'delightful situation and mild climate', and also containing clear and potable water.¹² Here she describes buildings 'worthy of an emperor', which she states were built as a retreat by Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–71), although Henry Maguire notes that a palace of some sort probably existed on the site already. Certainly, the Aretai itself is attested in the tenth century, and is described as containing both natural and landscaped elements, including waterworks such as streams and formal fountains.¹³ Maguire locates this park not far from the Golden Gate, beyond the Theodosian Wall and near the Sea of Marmara, while another park, the Philopation, he places to the north, again close to the Theodosian Walls, and not far from Blachernae.¹⁴ Thus the location of the Pege appears to have been adjacent to two imperial parks, themselves studded with both natural and artificial fountains, all of which were considered fitting sites of imperial retreat, leisure and repose. The Pege was therefore, as Procopius describes, perfectly situated to be an important healing shrine centred on a miraculous spring, as well as one with close ties to the imperial court.

Pege in the middle period: from healer to defender

The Pege shrine benefited from imperial patronage throughout the early and middle Byzantine periods.¹⁵ The *Anonymous Miracles* reflect this imperial influence: of the forty-seven miracles listed, eleven directly benefit a member of the imperial family, with a further six helping a member of the imperial court. Other beneficiaries of miracles are monks or religious figures, including the Patriarch Stephen I (r. 886–93), brother to the emperor,

Leo VI. This imperial and elite emphasis is notable, particularly in a text which was written in deliberately simple language, 'so that even ordinary people and artisans and agricultural labourers will have no difficulties listening to it, but rather will comprehend it easily and eagerly run to her spring,' as the author states explicitly in his preface.¹⁶ This seems to suggest that, while the Pege was not reserved for elite visitors and more common pilgrims were encouraged to visit, nonetheless in the tenth century notable figures were considered good advertisements for the power and importance of the shrine.¹⁷

For the imperial family in turn, it is evident that the Pege was considered an important site with which it was beneficial to be associated, even in circumstances where one had not personally received a miraculous cure. Thus Basil I repaired the dome of the church after it was destroyed in an earthquake in 869 (although, according to the *Anonymous Miracles*, he initially sought to demolish the remains of the damaged building and erect a new, larger church, but was dissuaded from doing so by 'certain magnates').¹⁸ Following their miraculous healings, the empresses Irene and Theodora both provided great gifts and decorations to the church, including lengths of golden fabric, a crown and vessels studded with precious stones.¹⁹ Irene also commissioned a mosaic depicting herself and her son, Constantine VI, offering these gifts to the church. Talbot has suggested that the great favour shown by these iconophile empresses – together with the fact that an abbot of Pege signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, and the iconodule saint John Psichaites was a monk at Pege – indicates that the church (and its associated monastery) was itself a 'stronghold' of iconophile beliefs.²⁰

At some point before the ninth century, the site also gained an imperial palace, blurring the line between imperial retreat and holy shrine, again demonstrating the manner in which elements of the two could overlap.²¹ This palace appears in the tenth-century *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, compiled by or under Constantine VII. According to the *Anonymous Miracles*, Constantine was himself the product of a miracle by the Pege, which allowed his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina, to conceive him.²² In the *De cerimoniis* we find not one but two detailed descriptions of the liturgical procession that took place to the Church of the Theotokos at the Pege to celebrate Ascension Day. Both the patriarch and the emperor attended, indicating the importance of the celebration and emphasising the important role the Pege had come to play by this point in the spiritual topography of the city in the form of its stationary liturgy. The longer description of this ceremony indicates that the emperor would on occasion shorten his

processional route by sailing from the Great Palace to the Golden Gate, before travelling on horseback along the walls to the complex of buildings associated with the Pege. Here he ascended to a private bedchamber in which he was able to complete the necessary costume changes until it was time to descend to be greeted and acclaimed by various court figures and enter the church where the liturgy was held by the patriarch. After this, the emperor, the patriarch and their illustrious guests enjoyed a banquet at the imperial residence next to the church.²³ The second, shorter description of this ceremony appears in the section of the *De cerimoniis* drawn from Philotheos' *Kletorologion*, indicating that the custom was already established by 899.²⁴

The celebration of Ascension Day at the Pege indicates the degree to which the shrine was by the middle period well integrated into the spiritual landscape of Constantinople as a source of protection for the city, its emperors and its people.²⁵ This role is suggested in Procopius' encomium as early as the sixth century, when he describes the shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege as acting together with that at Blachernae (which he also attributes to Justinian) to 'serve as invincible defences to the circuit-wall of the city'.²⁶ He drives home this notion by locating them at each end of the Theodosian Walls, rhetorically moving the Pege much closer to the Golden Gate to allow the comparison to be made. This juxtaposition of the shrines with the walls – the visible, material fortifications of the city – emphasises the importance of these shrines as sites that could mediate the protection of the city by God and the Mother of God to whom they were dedicated.

This concept of defence mapped onto the shrines parallels the contemporary rise in Marian worship in Constantinople, which Cyril Mango has identified as accelerating in the early seventh century. From this time we find accounts of the Avar raid (in 619 or 623) and the Avar-Persian siege of the city (in 626) describing the Virgin's active, militant role as defender of the city against its enemies.²⁷ Bissera V. Pentcheva suggests that this was a natural development as the figure of the Theotokos gradually took on the former roles of civic deities like Tyche and Victoria, with the result that in accounts (particularly later ones) of the Avar and Persian attacks we find the Theotokos not only protecting, but actively taking part in military defence.²⁸ While these accounts focus primarily on the Church of the Theotokos at Blachernae, and the important relic of the Virgin's 'robe' (*maphorion*) that was kept at this shrine, the Pege too features as a site at which attackers were repelled in the vicinity of a shrine of the Virgin. This is evident, for instance, in a sermon attributed to the patriarchal official, Theodore Synkellos, following the siege of 626. Here, the Virgin lures Avar soldiers into a 'trap'

near the Pege where she herself is described as ‘massacring the barbarians at the hands of the Christian soldiers’ (τούτους χερσὶ στρατιωτικῶν Χριστιανῶν κατασφάσσει). This was a relatively small skirmish, but one to which Synkellos gives strategic weight by informing his audience that this event ‘brought down to earth the aggression of the barbarians and enfeebled their whole army’.²⁹ Pege’s defensive role was less significant than that of Blachernae, which was in possession of the *maphorion*, and therefore could be endowed with a more active role in events. The Blachernae was both the site of a rout of the Slav allies of the Avars, and resisted attackers who, having entered the church, were ‘divinely prevented’ from damaging it.³⁰ The *maphorion* in later centuries is found being paraded along the walls during sieges, acting as a palladium for the city.³¹ Indeed, on one occasion, in 924, the *maphorion* brought about peace after it was worn by Romanos I Lekapenos during negotiations with Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria after the latter had resisted such a peace by burning the Pege complex.³²

Thus, while, following the siege of 626, Blachernae was enclosed within the city walls, growing into an increasingly fortified imperial base, the Pege continued to serve primarily as a healing shrine. For example, Synkellos identifies the church at the Pege by its possession of a ‘healing spring’, although Blachernae also possessed such a spring. Pege’s holy spring represented the other role of the Theotokos in her special relationship with Constantinople: not only protector, but giver of life. Indeed, it is in this middle period, in the ninth century, that we first find the epithet ‘Zoodochos Pege’, applied to the Theotokos in hymns, notably those of Joseph the Hymnographer.³³ While this epithet was not yet applied to the shrine at the Pege, nor to the specific iconographic type with which it later became most closely associated, it is here that we find the origins of the phrase. In the *Anonymous Miracles*, although we do not find the specific phrase ‘Zoodochos Pege’, among the miracles performed by the spring waters is the resurrection of a dead man, in which the Theotokos not only heals but also ‘gives life’ (ζωῆς χορηγόν).³⁴

The church at the Pege itself continued to be an important site in Constantinople: after it was burned in 924 by Symeon of Bulgaria it was quickly rebuilt, for it was at the Pege that the granddaughter of Romanos I married Symeon’s son, Peter, in 927.³⁵ This location could hardly have been a coincidence, and was instead replete with symbolism, enacting this strategic marriage at the site of Symeon’s earlier violent resistance to Byzantine hegemony, the church already rebuilt, demonstrating the power and resilience of Byzantine rule.³⁶ The Pege further appears in the tenth-century *Typikon* as the endpoint not only for the Ascension Day procession,

but also a shorter procession, led by the patriarch, beginning at the Church of St Mokios on 9 July celebrating its own dedication.³⁷ Thus, from its foundation until the Fourth Crusade, the church at the Pege continued to hold an important position at Constantinople, both as a healing shrine and as an endpoint for two important liturgical processions, as well as being a key site in the city's suburban spiritual defences. Despite damage wrought by earthquakes and sieges, it was repeatedly rebuilt, and appears to have had a fairly extensive complex of buildings, including an imperial residence.

Pege revived: a new role in a new city

There is little evidence relating to the Pege or detailing its healing powers between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, which follows larger patterns observable in the period showing a decline of hagiography and, as a result, evidence for miracles.³⁸ Anna Komnene's two references to the monastery suggest that by the eleventh century it was used as a site for exile or confinement outside the city walls (but still close at hand) for politically problematic individuals.³⁹ But with the Latin conquest, great changes came to the shrine at the Pege, with significant implications for the miraculous powers of its spring and the meaning of the Pege in Orthodox worship.

The Latin Crusaders in 1204 did not destroy the church at the Pege. Instead, and perhaps worse in the eyes of the Orthodox Byzantines, they rearranged it for the Latin rite. Our primary source for the church's history in the years following the Byzantine recapture of the city in 1261 is a text written in the early fourteenth century by the church historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos.⁴⁰ Rewriting and expanding the *Anonymous Miracles*, he recorded the history of the Church of the Theotokos at the Pege and the miracles performed by the holy spring. His version of the *Anonymous Miracles* is in a more elevated language and adds new details and theories about the origins and medical nature of the diseases suffered by pilgrims to the shrine. In addition, he added fifteen new miracles from his own time.⁴¹ Xanthopoulos included an abbreviated summary of this longer *logos* in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.⁴² It is Xanthopoulos who reports the cessation of miracles under the Latin occupation. He further adds that this hiatus continued under Michael VIII Palaiologos, due to the emperor's efforts towards unification with the Latin Church at the Union of Lyons in 1274. Only when Michael's son, Andronikos II, came to power and rejected this union did the miracles resume, a clear indication of the Theotokos' favour for the Orthodox Church.⁴³ Talbot has argued that the Pege enjoyed

a significant revival in this period, partly celebrated in and partly brought about by Xanthopoulos' work, including not only the *logos* but also a new *akolouthia* he wrote to celebrate the newly established feast day for the inauguration of the church, which was held on the Friday of the week after Easter.⁴⁴ Together with the resurgence of miracles and the development of a new iconographic type of the *Zoodochos Pege*, these events brought the Church of the Theotokos at the Pege new fame and a new place in Orthodox worship.⁴⁵

This new iconographic type is particularly important, as it spread far beyond Constantinople. Xanthopoulos uses the term 'Zoodochos Pege' for the Virgin only once in his *akolouthia*.⁴⁶ However, it certainly came to be applied to the church at this time, as well as to the iconographic type depicting the Virgin *orans* with a front-facing Christ Child at her breast (the image later had the Virgin and Child sitting in a basin from which water flowed). Talbot suggests that this iconography was derived from a mosaic set above the holy spring at the Pege. Xanthopoulos specifies in his *logos* that it was the reflection of this image in the water which gave it its miraculous powers: 'looking down toward the water [in the *phiale*] so as to render it effective, incubating it, so to speak, and rendering it fertile'.⁴⁷ Xanthopoulos' interest in the source of the spring's powers seems to echo his interest in the aetiology of the diseases suffered by pilgrims, whereas the earlier *Anonymous Miracles* focused far more on the miraculous nature of the healing, seeking no explanation for their efficacy beyond the powers of the Mother of God. An icon of this new type is visible in the shrine of the Pege today, likewise placed just above the holy spring. Given the association Xanthopoulos makes between the revival of the spring's powers and Andronikos' reign, Talbot suggests the Byzantine icon may well have been placed there under this emperor.

Talbot suggests that Xanthopoulos' work was part of a deliberate effort to promote the shrine in the decades following the recapture of the city from the Latin Crusaders. She notes a number of independent sources which confirm the popularity of the Pege at this time as a healing shrine. These sources, as with Xanthopoulos' *Logos*, show particular interest in the cause and course of the diseases from which the pilgrims suffered, emphasising the role of the Pege as a source of healing.⁴⁸ Gone completely from these sources are indications of the shrine's function as a spiritual bulwark for the city. The Komnenoi had moved the imperial court from the Great Palace to the palace at Blachernae, and it was here that the Palaiologan emperors established their own courts following the retaking of the city (although Michael VIII appears to have spent as long as a decade residing in the Great

Palace while the Blachernae Palace was restored).⁴⁹ No longer did the Pege and Blachernae churches serve as pendant points along the walls, offering spiritual defence to the city. Rather, one was now not only intra-mural but also the imperial heart of the city, while the other remained extra-mural and suburban.

Pilgrims who visited Pege from abroad record drinking and washing themselves in the holy waters of the *hagiasma*. One of these visitors, the Russian Anonymous, c.1389–91, is the earliest to report fish living within the spring itself.⁵⁰ This detail was expanded upon in a later legend, dating to after the Ottoman conquest, which told of how at the time of the fall, a monk was frying fish at the monastery. At the news of the Turkish assault on the city, the fish jumped half-fried out of the pan and into the fountain where they were restored to life and their descendants still live today.⁵¹ George Majeska notes that the area in which the Pege is situated today is called Balıklı, or ‘fish-place’ in Turkish, which, he suggests, may well have originated in this legend.⁵² This legend again emphasises the ‘life-containing’ powers of the waters of the Pege, whose potency is so great that even half-fried fish may flourish once they touch the water.

Talbot’s study of the epigrams of the fourteenth-century Byzantine poet, Manuel Philes, treating the Pege reveals a distinctive vocabulary connected with flowing water, in common with the vocabulary used by Xanthopoulos in his *akolouthia* and *logos*.⁵³ Here then, even more so than in the middle Byzantine period, we see an emphasis on the conceptual relationship between water as a source of life and purity and the Theotokos, herself a source of life, both for Christ himself, and for faithful pilgrims seeking her aid. In contrast, Procopius’ description of the setting of the Pege seemed to draw far more from contemporary concepts of imperial idyllic retreats in the suburbs of the city than from a strictly religious conceptualisation of the *hagiasma*.⁵⁴ Even the tenth-century *Anonymous Miracles* devoted far more time to descriptions of the church buildings and gifts the shrine received than to the spring itself, excepting the first miracle, in which it is cleaned by Leo’s imperial decree.

This shift seems as much indicative of the manner in which Pege’s role within the city changed as of changes discrete to the shrine itself: as the focus on imperial patronage and beneficiaries – and with that an emphasis on both the idyllic setting of the site and its strategic location in the city’s spiritual topography – declined, it gave way to an increasing emphasis on the miraculous nature of the spring itself. Can the changing nature of the presentation and beneficiaries of the shrine’s miracles also be interpreted as reflecting this shift, with the text itself (Xanthopoulos’ *logos*) becoming

more elevated in style, while the pilgrims receiving the miracles become more common in their origins?⁵⁵ This shift seems to suggest that the Pege was losing its close imperial connections, becoming instead, or perhaps again, an independent site of pilgrimage, promoted through a new iconographic type that emphasised the strong Christian interpretation of the waters over older imperial associations which presented the spring and its setting as a site of imperial patronage, repose and leisure. The *Anonymous Miracles* can be read as an effort to make this rather elite shrine more accessible and better known to a general public, who might have perceived the Pege as an 'imperial' *hagiasma*, but nonetheless it relied upon these notable beneficiaries to advertise the shrine. Xanthopoulos' *logos*, on the other hand, seems to be seeking to promote the importance of the Pege in its own right, separate from imperial visits (with such visits confirming the potency of the site, but not endowing it with greater prestige). His text apparently aims to spread the fame of the shrine, potentially beyond Constantinople, addressing a broader audience who might be encouraged to make pilgrimages to the site and enjoy its restored curative powers.

Conclusion

With its long history, the shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege is well worth further examination. The lack of Byzantine remains on the site of the Pege today, as well as the difficulty of access to key texts, has deterred Byzantinists from paying sufficient attention to this site, with Talbot's and Efthymiadis' articles on the shrine representing almost the entirety of recent scholarship. But the limited sources available already paint an interesting picture of the development of the shrine, both in its own right, and within the broader context of the spiritual topography of Constantinople. A study of the Pege shrine also demonstrates the manner in which the imperial and the sacred overlapped, not only in the centre of the city, but also at its limits, and the degree to which suburban shrines could be strongly connected to the centre, at least in the middle period.

In the case of the Pege, its early imperial connections and the integral role it played in the religious life of the city in the middle period gave way to a more independent status in the late period, in which those who sought to promote it did so with a broader audience in mind, reaching far beyond Constantinople. In the process, the holy spring was presented differently, with a stronger emphasis on the water itself and the manner in which it both gained and executed its miraculous powers, in contrast to

an earlier emphasis on the setting of the shrine and the imperial patronage from which it benefited, both architecturally and decoratively, as well as on its imperial pilgrims. These changes indicate shifts in the Pege's relationship with the city and the emperor, but also reflect larger shifts in the religious meaning and role of the city of Constantinople as its changing layout shifted the focus of its spiritual and imperial topography. While the Pege's healing powers survived to be renewed in the late period, its role as part of an earlier conception of the city's network of spiritual defences faded away, leaving it free to develop a new significance in its own right, more or less independent of Constantinople and the emperor. This, in turn, helped it to survive the even greater upheavals the city was to face.

Notes

- 1 In the sixteenth century, Pierre Gilles recorded that, although no church stood at the site, the spring itself continued to flow and remained a site of pilgrimage. Gilles 1988: 258.
- 2 Talbot 2002b; 2002c: 605–15; 1994: 135–65; Efthymiadis 2006–7: 283–309.
- 3 Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.3.6–9 in Dewing 1954; Kedrenos, *Compendium Historiarum*, PG 121, 740. The degree to which Procopius' attributions can be taken at face value has long been debated.
- 4 *Patria*, ed. Berger 2013: 3.142, p. 198. Here it is stated that 260 years after the church at Pege was founded by Justinian it collapsed in an earthquake and was rebuilt by the empress Irene. Berger suggests that this should be reckoned as the years between 537 and 797, the year of Irene's ascension.
- 5 Efthymiadis 2006–7: 285. Efthymiadis thus suggests that Justinian renovated the church on a grand scale, rather than founding the building itself.
- 6 'Anonymous Miracles' in Talbot 2012: 208–10.
- 7 Talbot 2012: 429, n. 2.
- 8 Foss 2002: 139.
- 9 For instance, Justinian's urinary ailment. 'Anonymous Miracles' in Talbot 2012: 214. We also find instances in which the holy water is drunk and produces a cure despite the consumption of any water at all being contraindicated for the particular disease. 'Anonymous Miracles' in Talbot 2012: 260, 264, 290; 2002c: 613–14. In the middle period, the other means of gaining the benefits of the spring seems to have been applying mud from the site.
- 10 Delatte 1927: 470. Of course, much of the water brought into Constantinople via aqueducts originated from natural springs outside of the city, but given the distance this water travelled, and the length of time it might be stored in cisterns in the city, this recommendation likely referred to water taken directly from springs. Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008: 14.

- 11 Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I.3.6 in Dewing 1954.
- 12 H. Maguire 2000: 254.
- 13 H. Maguire 2000: 254–5. Following Maguire’s identification of the Aretai as the subject of an ekphrastic poem by John Geometres. H. Maguire 1990.
- 14 H. Maguire 2000: 254, 256.
- 15 Indeed, the miracle of Leo at the Pege is described as a double miracle, for not only does the mud from the holy spring restore a blind man’s sight, but the voice of the Virgin addressed the soldier Leo as ‘emperor’, predicting his future rank and later ‘rewarding’ him ‘with an entire empire’ for his compassion. In this way, the Theotokos at the Pege not only supports the imperial family, but even in a way can confer this power upon them. ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 210.
- 16 ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 206.
- 17 The author states in the conclusion of the text that the miracles he has described are well known thanks to the distinguished nature of their beneficiaries, but asserts that there have been countless others ‘effected on a daily basis’ for ‘unknown persons’. ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 290.
- 18 ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 238. Efhymiadis associates this detail with the ‘competition’ between various Marian shrines in Constantinople at the time, with each vying to attract the most attention and patronage, and to assert that it was truly the permanent sanctuary of the Virgin, and thus the most reliable source of her miracles. Efhymiadis 2006–7: 294–5.
- 19 ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 222, 224.
- 20 Talbot 2002c: 606.
- 21 See below, n. 24, on another suburban imperial palace (at the Philopation) whose chapel took on wider spiritual significance in the city when it was used to celebrate Ascension Day.
- 22 ‘Anonymous Miracles’ in Talbot 2012: 266.
- 23 *De cerimoniis*, Moffatt and Tall 2012: 108–14.
- 24 *De cerimoniis*, Moffatt and Tall 2012: 774–5. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Ascension Day was instead celebrated across the Golden Horn at the Church of the Maccabees at Elaia, a location Mango suggests was associated with Jerusalem’s Mount of Olives (suggested by the name, ἐλαία or ἑλαιών, ‘olive tree’ or ‘olive grove’, and the hill-top location). Although it lacked the strong topographical parallel found at Elaia, the Pege was possibly a more convenient location as it did not require a water crossing during the course of the procession. Mango 2009: 168. In later centuries, the location of this celebration shifted again, with at least three emperors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries celebrating Ascension Day at a chapel attached to an imperial palace in the Philopation, not far from Blachernae. Although this chapel was more explicitly private and imperial in nature than the shrine at the Pege, its use for the same service as was previously held at the Pege might suggest that the Pege was also seen to a degree as an ‘imperial’ shrine. Runciman 1980: 221–2.

- 25 The particular favour shown by the Theotokos at the Pege to Constantinopolitans is explicitly mentioned in the 'Anonymous Miracles' in Talbot 2012: 276–8, and most of the beneficiaries it records are from Constantinople.
- 26 Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.3.9 in Dewing 1954.
- 27 Mango 2000: 17–25. See, for instance, the Khagan's statement in the *Chronicon Paschale* that he 'sees a woman in stately dress rushing about all alone' in the midst of the battle. *Chronicon Paschale*, 725 in Whitby and Whitby 1989: 180.
- 28 Pentcheva also sees the origins of the concept of the Theotokos' virginal motherhood as the source of her power in battle in figures like Athena and the Amazons. Indeed, Pentcheva observes a parallel between the passage from the *Chronicon Paschale* cited above and a sixth-century description by Zosimos of Athena defending the city during the siege of Athens in 396. Pentcheva 2006: 16–21, 64–5.
- 29 Trans. Pentcheva 2006: 64; Theodore Synkellos, ed. Makk 1975: sect. 19, p. 82. This event is also celebrated in a five-line epigram by the contemporary poet, George Pisida. Sternbach 1892: 59–60.
- 30 *Chronicon Paschale* 724–6 in Whitby and Whitby 1989: 178–80.
- 31 *Homilies of Photius*, ed. Mango 1958: 102–3. *Theophanes Continuatus* 2.674–5, 827, in Bekker 1838.
- 32 *Theophanes Continuatus* 1.407, in Bekker 1838.
- 33 Talbot 1994: 136, n. 7; 'Pege', *ODB*.
- 34 'Anonymous Miracles' in Talbot 2012: 232.
- 35 'Pege', *ODB*; *Theophanes Continuatus*, I, 414, in Bekker 1838.
- 36 Efthymiadis suggests the extra-mural nature of this location may also have been felicitous, ensuring that, despite his new position as son-in-law to the emperor, the son of a challenger to Byzantine rule was not married within the city walls. Efthymiadis 2006–7: 288.
- 37 *Typikon* 1.335 in Mateos 1962–3.
- 38 Talbot 2002a: 165; 2002c: 609.
- 39 Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 1.16, p. 70, 5.8 in Sewter 1979: 176.
- 40 Published by Ambrose Pamperis as Λόγος διαλαμβάνων τὰ περὶ τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου τῆς ἀειζώου πηγῆς (Leipzig, 1802). Although this text survives in four manuscripts, it has been little studied, largely due to the extreme rarity of the 1802 printed edition, which is itself merely a transcription of the manuscript, lacking textual corrections or critical apparatus.
- 41 Talbot 2012: xvii.
- 42 Xanthopoulos, *HE* 72–7, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 147.
- 43 Talbot 2002c: 609.
- 44 Talbot 1994: 136. On the *akolouthia* of Xanthopoulos, see Bodin in this volume.
- 45 The Pege was not the only shrine to enjoy revival in this period: several shrines around Constantinople likewise experienced such a resurgence under Andronikos II, including the suburban Church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos.

Talbot notes, however, that it is difficult to establish to what degree this reflects an actual revival of the shrines, or merely of the hagiographic writings that recorded these miracles. Talbot 2002a: 165–6.

46 Talbot 1994: 136–7.

47 Translated by Talbot 1994: 137.

48 Talbot 1994: 137–8.

49 Talbot 1993: 250.

50 Mango 1952: 380–5; Majeska 1984: 325.

51 Talbot 2012: xxvii.

52 Majeska 1984: 236.

53 Talbot 1994: 139–40. This vocabulary includes, naturally, ‘πηγή’ and ‘ὕδωρ’, appearing sometimes by themselves, or sometimes connected to words denoting ‘life’. In addition, Philes makes frequent use of words associated with ‘flow’ or ‘gush’, as well as words meaning ‘cooling’ or ‘refreshing’.

54 Though note the language of an epigram at the Blachernae church, attributed to George Pisida, which declares that the Theotokos destroyed Byzantium’s enemies ‘by water, not by the spear’, thus using this watery vocabulary to express middle-period themes of spiritual defence at Blachernae and the Pege (and referring to Blachernae’s earlier stronger association with its healing waters before its defensive role came to the fore). Pentcheva 2006: 62.

55 Talbot notes that, among the new miracles Xanthopoulos presents, only one miracle involves a member of the imperial family, while many others treat members of the middle or lower classes. These pilgrims also often came from much longer distances away, supporting the argument that this period saw an effort to promote the shrine at the Pege to a far broader audience. Talbot 2002c: 610.

17 | A dome for the water: canopied fountains and cypress trees in Byzantine and early Ottoman Constantinople

FEDERICA BROILO

The righteous will flourish like a palm tree,
they will grow like a cedar in the L'vanon.
Planted in the house of Adonai,
they will flourish in the courtyards of our God.

Psalm 92: 13–14 (Complete Jewish Bible)

The official visit of the imperial ambassador David Ungnad von Sonneg to the Sultan, between 1573 and 1578 was recorded in a manuscript, enriched with miniature paintings. The original manuscript, now lost, was used as the source for at least three other manuscripts. A miniature from the Dresden copy, dated 1581–2, and painted for the Duke August of Saxony by Zacharias Wehme, a painter at the court of Christian I and pupil of Lucas Cranach, represents Sultan Selim II and his retinue leaving the Mosque of Ayasofya heading towards the Topkapı Palace after the prayer.¹ Right behind what appears to be the north-eastern corner of the precinct, but is likely to be the former Byzantine atrium, one sees a small domed structure supported by six columns flanked by two tall cypress trees. A very similar building is depicted in Giuliano da Sangallo's copy of the drawing by Cyriacus of Ancona of an exterior view taken from the west of St Sophia (Vat. Barb. lat. 4424, fol. 28r.: fig. 17.1). On the ground section of the drawing there is a small canopied structure while three cypress trees are seen sprouting from the upper cornice of the main body of the church.² Both depictions could be verified through a passage taken from the 'Anonymous description of Constantinople' by a Russian traveller. In fact according to the Russian Anonymous: 'In front of the west door in the great precincts of St Sofia a place has been fashioned where they bless water. There is a stone cup of precious jasper there, and they immerse crosses in this cup. There is a lead covered canopy over this cup; there are four cypresses and two laurels there.'³ Like the Russian Anonymous, both Ibn Battuta and the Persian version of the *Diegesis* note that the trees surrounding the fountain are cypresses, even though the latter source counts eight of them.⁴ We have in addition an early fifteenth-century description from Clavijo about the Church of St John. The author states:

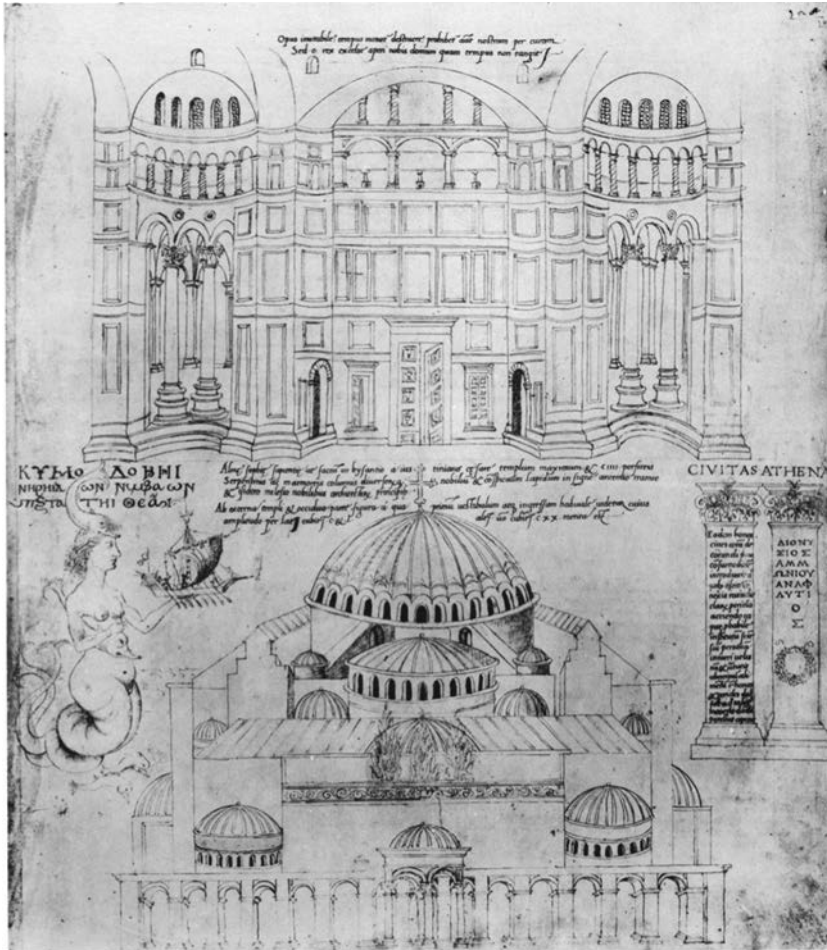


Fig 17.1. Giuliano da Sangallo, Hagia Sophia, interior west wall and exterior from the west, Vat. Barb. lat. 4424, fol. 28r., after Huelsen 1910.

The first thing they went to see, was the church of St John the Baptist, which they call St John of the stone, and which is near the emperor's Palace. [...] Beyond this place there is a great court, surrounded by houses, and containing many cypress trees: and opposite the door into the body of the church there is a beautiful fountain, under a canopy raised upon eight white marble pillars, and the pipe of the fountain is of white stone.⁵

We can assume that planting cypresses in the gardens of Byzantine churches was a common practice.⁶ Before we start looking at the cypresses and fountains in the Islamic context it is pertinent to establish their relevance in the late antique and Byzantine periods. According to the *Geoponika*, a

Byzantine treatise on agriculture produced under Constantine VII, the cypresses should be planted to act as a fence or outer barrier of the garden. For millennia the cypress tree has been much beloved throughout the Mediterranean. Although it does not bear any edible fruit, it was associated with the idea of immortality and afterlife, and was planted extensively in real and fictional gardens, both textual and visual, in mosaics and paintings. Early mentions of cypress trees in open sacred spaces such as sanctuary courtyards are to be found in the Bible, in the books of Isaiah and in the Psalms. Depictions of cypresses and water appear in late antique mosaics and Byzantine miniatures. For instance, one of the earliest cypress-fountain combinations is to be found in the mosaic floor of the Church of the Holy Martyrs at Tayyibat al-Imam near Hamah, in Syria.⁷ The central register of the mosaic is occupied by three columned *ciboria*. In the central *ciborium*, covered by a dome from which hangs a lamp set between two lit candelabra placed on the enclosing banisters, a lamb stands between two tied-up curtains. In the two side *ciboria*, there are two fountains on pedestals set between two pointed trees that, due to their shapes, could be identified as cypresses. Another representation of a canopy flanked by trees is to be found in a miniature belonging to the Codex 463 'Barlaam and Joasaph', which dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century and is preserved in the Athonite Monastery of Iveron. At fol. 100r., 'Joasaph beholds paradise in a dream'. Paradise is represented by foliage and trees and a canopied fountain in the form of a square parapet with a high pedestal above which is a round basin. From the centre of the basin emerges a tall *strobilion* decorated with a pine-cone superimposed by an eagle with open wings. Two evergreen trees, one on each side of the fountain, could be identified again with cypresses. Another example is to be seen in the portrait of Gregory Nazianzus in Mt Sinai cod. 339, fol. 4v.⁸ Here two fountains in different shapes are each flanked by small trees, possibly cypresses (see fig. 10.1, above).

There are, unfortunately, no archaeological remains of canopied fountains in Constantinople,⁹ nor of their associated cypresses.¹⁰ However, a good sense of their appearance is given by surviving *phiales* at the monasteries of Mount Athos, where the canopied fountains for the blessing of the waters are often flanked by impressively tall cypress trees, as is the case at the Monastery of Chilandar. Cypresses do not flank only fountains, but also other symbolic objects related to the iconography of the 'Fountain of Life'. One of the earliest examples, whose date has been generally accepted as the fifth or sixth century, is the mosaics in the principal church of the Jacobite monastery of Mār Gabriel, north-east of the village of Kartmin in the region of south-eastern Turkey known as Tūr 'Abdīn. The mosaics have

been studied and were published by E. Hawkins, C. Mango and M. Mundell in 1973, but they are not very well known and they are very difficult to see.¹¹ Both lunettes in the principal church contain a very similar composition of a central domed *ciborium* on four columns flanked on each side by a bending cypress tree. Later representations are found extensively in the Armenian Gospels where often a full-page miniature of a domed structure with four visible columns, hanging, drawn or knotted curtains and cypress tress precedes the Evangelists' portraits. This kind of edifice recurrent in Armenian and Ethiopic Gospels has been alternatively called a *tempietto* or *tholos* by J. Strzygowsky and P. Underwood.¹² The source of this symbolic miniature seems to be the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as it stood before its destruction by the Persians in 614. Indeed the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre in an Athonite manuscript of the fifteenth century (Codex 139 m, fol. 8r.), held at the Proskynetarion of the Monastery of Gregoriou, is still based on the combination of a domed aedicule, supported by three columns and flanked by a very tall and straight cypress tree. On the other hand, bending cypresses flank the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre on the reliquary box in the Vatican Museo Cristiano.¹³ In most Byzantine representations the trees flanking the canopied fountain are perfectly straight, while wherever the fountain is lacking a canopy, the cypresses are often depicted slightly or heavily bending over the fountain, acting as the canopy's substitute. This is the case in the Annunciation to St Anna in the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 16r.; see plate 5).¹⁴ Here the fountain on the right side of the miniature is flanked by two bending, pointed cypresses. There can be little doubt about the importance of the flanking cypresses in the Christian iconography of the Fountain of Life, variously represented by a source of water, by the Holy Sepulchre and by the Cross as in the case of the Harbaville ivory triptych in the Louvre, where the Cross is flanked by two heavily bent cypress trees.¹⁵

It comes as no surprise that there is not a single mention of the cypress tree in the Qur'an since it is not a native plant of the Arabian peninsula. In fact, the *cupressus sempervirens* is a species of cypress native to the eastern Mediterranean region, in north-east Libya, south-east Greece (Crete, Rhodes), southern Turkey, Cyprus, northern Egypt, western Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Malta, Italy, western Jordan and also in Iran. But a fragment of an early eighth-century parchment of the Qur'an from Yemen shows a *mihrab* niche in the shape of a *ciborium* flanked by cypress trees. Though found in Sana', historians believe this fragment was produced in the Umayyad court of Damascus, which would explain not only the presence of the cypresses but also of the *ciborium*-like *mihrab* reminiscent of those

canopies previously discussed.¹⁶ Courtyards of mosques were sometimes planted with trees and the earliest mosque where planting is known to have occurred is the Great Mosque of Cordoba at least as early as the first decade of the ninth century.¹⁷ Far later, four cypresses sprout from the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Diyarbakır as it appears in a sixteenth-century miniature painting by Matrakçı Nasuh of the city of Amida (Diyarbakır) in Northern Mesopotamia.¹⁸

To find cypresses flanking a canopied fountain we must turn to the royal mosques of Istanbul. According to G. Necipoğlu the first royal mosque to use an atrium-like columned courtyard with a *şadırvan* fountain in the centre was the Üç Serefeli Mosque in Edirne, which was built between 1437 and 1447 (841–51 AH) by Murat II. In the *Surname-i Humayun*, a miniature-illustrated account of the circumcision festival in Ottoman Istanbul which took place in summer 1582 to celebrate Sultan Murat III's son Mehmet, guilds from many different professions participated in the processions that took place over the course of the festival. In one scene (Topkapı Palace, H1344, fol. 349r.) the guild of gardeners is seen transporting on wheels a model of an idealised Ottoman garden at the time. In the very centre is a hexagonal pool made of marbles of different colours and set in each of the corners is a single cypress tree, its top slightly bent towards the fountain.¹⁹ At fol. 196r. of the same manuscript, the gardeners are seen carrying another garden with a similar disposition, with a hexagonal fountain surrounded by four cypresses. In this case the trees are perfectly straight.

Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, a work of the seventeenth century, establishes the importance of cypress trees in Ottoman royal mosques. In the first volume of his work Evliya gives some detailed descriptions of the mosques of Mehmet the Conqueror, Sultan Beyazıt II and Sultan Selim I. According to Evliya:

In the centre of this court there is a large basin covered by a leaden cupola, supported by eight columns ... The architect, to show his skill in the construction of this basin in the center of the court, placed over it a brazen cage like a net, which is also itself a masterpiece. The water rushing out, day and night, from the pipes of this basin, affords abundantly where with to quench the thirst of the devout, and enable them to perform their ablutions. Round this basin there are verdant cypresses towering to the sky like minarets, and each appearing like a green angel.²⁰

Until recently the *şadırvan* fountain in the courtyard of the Mosque of Mehmet the Conqueror was actually surrounded by four cypresses. It seems that both the canopy-like covering of the *şadırvan* fountains in the courtyards of some royal mosques as well as the planting of cypresses were

to be imputed to the will of Sultan Murat IV. In fact a canopy on the top of the fountain and four cypresses appear also in the description of the Sultan Beyazid II Mosque. To quote again from the *Seyahatname*: ‘and in the center [of the court] there is a large basin, where all the congregation renew their ablutions. A cupola, supported by eight white marble columns, was placed over the basin by Sultan Murat IV, the conqueror of Baghdad. On different sides of it four lofty cypresses have been planted.’²¹ The same type was employed in the Sultan Selim I Mosque: ‘There is a basin in the center of the court, which constantly supplies the Muslim congregation with fresh and running water for their ablutions. Sultan Murat IV placed a pointed dome over it, supported by eight columns, and there are four cypresses on the different sides of it.’²² A canopy with eight columns was added by Murat IV



Fig 17.2. Marble slab from the *şadırvan* of Sultan Mustafa Mosque with cypresses flanking the water spout, Rhodes, 1764.

Photograph: Federica Broilo.

also to the fountain of the Şehzade Mosque.²³ Although today at the Sultan Selim I Mosque the cypresses are no longer present, they can be still seen in photographs from the early twentieth century, for example in the Creswell Archive. A similar composition reflecting the taste of the time is to be found also in a painting from the Gaznevî Album (İÜ, T5461) depicting a garden fountain under a tall domed canopy flanked by two towering cypresses.²⁴ Very close to the previous painting is a cut-paper illustration of a domed pavilion flanked by cypress trees from a calligraphy album by the calligrapher Mehmed bin Ahmed Sirozi, dated 1687 and today at the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.²⁵ According to some photos from the late nineteenth century, tall cypresses used to surround also the *şadırvan* fountain, which stood in front of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Cypress trees were also widely carved in the sculpted stone decorations of fountains, such as the canopied *şadırvan* fountain of the Sultan Mustafa Mosque (1764) in Rhodes, where two trees flank a typical vase and foliage decoration on each slab of the octagonal parapet of the fountain (fig. 17.2). Cypress trees are also very frequent in the carved decoration of the *çeşme* fountain where they usually flank the spout from which the water flows.

When speaking about the canopies and the cypresses added to *şadırvan* fountains in the courtyards of some royal mosques by Murat IV we might return to the miniature painting by Zacharias Wehme of the domed structure supported by six columns flanked by two pointed cypress trees. In fact, this cannot be identified as the *şadırvan* fountain of Ayasofya as we know it, since this was built only in the eighteenth century.²⁶ For this reason I am inclined to support the idea that the building in Wehme's miniature should be identified with the *phiale* for the blessing of the waters mentioned by the Russian Anonymous. The question then becomes: what is the connection between the Byzantine *phiale* of St Sophia and its cypresses and the canopied *şadırvan* fountains and their cypress trees in the royal mosques of Istanbul? If there is a connection – and in my opinion there is at least from a purely formal point of view – were the Ottomans aware of it?

It has been suggested that the restyling of the courtyards by Mehmet IV could have been influenced by the pavilions of Tabriz, Revan and Baghdad the Sultan saw during his military campaign against the Safavids that ended with the conquest of Baghdad in 1638. But it is hard to believe that the Sultan's restyling of the courtyards was influenced by Safavid architecture, principally because the *Seyahatname*'s descriptions were supposedly written earlier in the 1630s, before the military campaign. Moreover, canopied fountains were not an unknown typology in Ottoman architecture, but in fact were rather common; the *şadırvan*

fountain attributed to the Ottoman chief architect Sinan inside the courtyard of the Kadirga Sokullu Mosque in Istanbul is a very good example. It is indeed surprising that most of the fountains inside the courtyards of the royal mosques were originally conceived without canopies. Sinan surely experimented a lot with the shapes of his fountains as proved by the substantial diversity between the rectangular-shaped fountain inside the Süleymaniye Mosque and the centrally planned one from the Kadirga Sokullu Mosque. The most realistic hypothesis is that the iconography of the source of living water flanked by trees in the Ottoman context originated from the *phiale* and the cypresses of St Sophia. The very same iconography was later applied to the *şadırvan* fountains inside the courtyards of the royal mosques but with a different meaning. An explanation for this can be found in a short paragraph from the autobiography of the chief architect Sinan about the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque: 'About the bringing of the marble columns of that Friday Mosque of auspicious appearance: In the first place, each of those four marble columns, which are emblems of the Four Chosen Friends, is like a stately cypress of the garden of faith.' The 'Four Chosen' are the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali. Despite the fact that the metaphor here is used for the columns of the mosque, the identification of the cypress trees with the four righteous Caliphs of the Sunni tradition cannot be easily set aside. Cypresses, with their shape like the aleph, symbolise also the unity of God. The 'life-giving' connotation of the Byzantine combination of spouting water and cypress trees is certainly not far from the Ottoman conception when we consider that the water of the *şadırvan* fountains mostly provided both water for drinking and for the ritual purification before the prayer. The atrium-like courtyards of the Ottoman royal mosques embellished with a source of fresh running water surrounded by four towering cypresses that recall to the mind of the devout 'minarets and guardian angels', to quote Evliya, or the 'Rightly Guided Caliphs' to quote Sinan, are thoroughly imbued with the symbolism of God. To quote from the Book of Isaiah (60:13): 'The glory of the L'vanon will come to you, cypresses together with elm trees and larches, to beautify the site of my sanctuary.'

Notes

1 Foschi 2002: 17, fig. 17.

2 Smith 1987: 17, fig. 1.

- 3 Majeska 1984: 138. Majeska identifies the lead covered domed structure with the great fountain or *phiale* that stood in the atrium of St Sophia.
- 4 Tauer 1954: 1–20; Majeska 1984: 201.
- 5 Markham 1859: 30.
- 6 Clavijo also mentions ‘The same day they went to see another church called Peribelico, dedicated to St Mary. At the entrance to this church there is a great court containing many cypresses, walnut trees, elms, and other trees’ (Markham 1859: 31). And again: ‘On the same day the ambassadors went to see another church, called St George; in which, after passing the first gate, there is a large court, in which there are many houses and fruit gardens, and the body of the church is in the midst of these gardens. Opposite the church door, outside, there is a large beautiful font, over which there is a canopy supported by eight marble pillars, inlaid with many figures’ (Markham 1859: 39).
- 7 Zaquq and Piccirillo 1999: 443–64.
- 8 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: fig. 18.
- 9 Even though there is not much archaeological evidence of *phiale* fountains in Constantinople, there are still a few detailed descriptions, such as this one from the Russian Anonymous: ‘You go from there to Mangana, and enter the monastery from the south. There is a great stone cup on a column in front of the church, and over the cup there is a lead-covered canopy; it is enclosed by columns with stone bars between them. The evangelist and the apostles are carved on the bars, and the columns are carved too’ (Majeska 1984: 138–41).
- 10 In a drawing titled ‘Cypress in the Court of Ste. Sophia’, dated back to 1844 and nowadays in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, a tall cypress stands in the courtyard of Ayasofya nearby the facilities for the ablutions. The very same cypress is to be seen in William Henry Bartlett, ‘Court and Fountain of St. Sophia, Istanbul’ engraved by J. Redaway, c.1850. It also appears in an original anonymous 1908 black and white in-text wood engraving of the *şadırvan* fountain in the court of the Ayasofya. Even though it is not possible to determine when that particular cypress was planted (and generally speaking, the Mediterranean cypress is very long-lived, with some trees reported to be over 1,000 years old), it is undoubtedly a sign of the continuity of planting and pairing it with fountains, and in particular with fountains for ritual ablutions.
- 11 Hawkins, Mundell and Mango 1973: 279–96.
- 12 The *tholos* flanked by cypresses appears in the following Armenian manuscripts’ *folia*: fol. 5v. of the Etchmiadzin Gospels (Underwood 1950: fig. 35); fol. 6r. of the Gospel of Mekhitarist Libr., Ms. 697 (Underwood 1950: fig. 37); in a page from a Book of the Gospels in the State Repository of Mss. in Erivan (Underwood 1950: fig. 38). A similar combination is to be found also in some Ethiopic manuscripts of the Gospels such as fol. 7r. from the Bibl. Nat. Paris, ethiop. 32 and fol. 6r. from the Ms. 828 in the Morgan Library of New York (Underwood 1950: figs. 53 and 54).
- 13 Underwood 1950: fig. 47.

- 14 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002: fig.15.
- 15 Underwood 1950: fig. 48. When speaking about 'life-giving' iconography, it seems wise briefly to mention the *ankh*, a hieroglyphic character signifying 'life', whose *crux ansata* shape resembles closely the cypress tree and has been widely used as an amulet from ancient Egypt to the present day. On a well-known bowl from Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which dates back to the second half of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, a cypress or possibly a distorted *ankh* cross is to be seen to the left of the Coptic monk.
- 16 Mackintosh-Smith 2006: 37; Fairchild Ruggles 2008: 94.
- 17 Fairchild Ruggles 2008: 90.
- 18 Matrakçı Nasuh, 'Kara Amid' (Diyarbakır), İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T. 5964.
- 19 Atasoy 2011: 38, figs. 28–9.
- 20 Von Hammer 1834: 67.
- 21 Von Hammer 1834: 70.
- 22 Von Hammer 1834: 74.
- 23 Von Hammer 1834: 83: 'The court is adorned with numerous columns, and in the centre there is a fountain, beneath a cupola supported by eight columns, which was built by Murad IV.'
- 24 Atasoy 2011: 31, fig. 11.
- 25 Atasoy 2011: 85, fig. 90.
- 26 Tansuğ 1965: 101–10.

The element of water has fundamental significance in most religions, and not least so in Islam. Public baths and fountains are important urban elements in many cities dominated by the Islamic faith, but when it comes to religion itself the most important aspect of water is that of the ritual ablutions in connection with the daily and weekly prayers. In the 5th sura of the Koran the basic statement is made: 'O true believers, when you prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces and your hands unto the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles.'¹ This act should be performed using clean running water, which means that the source of water itself becomes a significant object in the architectural setting of the mosque. It is the place where the sensual experience becomes intimate through contact with the water and the fine marble-work seen in most fountains, as a prelude to the prayer itself where the touching of the precious carpet by feet, knees, hands and forehead are the major sensations.

In the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul the ablution fountains, or *şadırvans*, although on a minor scale compared to the mosques themselves, may be interpreted to make significant contributions to the formal expressions of their complexes. When it comes to the great master of sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture, Mimar Sinan, even though the role and design of the *şadırvans* tend to be left out of descriptions and analyses of his works, they in fact contribute to revealing aspects of his general innovative spirit. In their modest scale they are also important as microcosmic versions of the mosques themselves.

It should be remembered that Sinan (c.1490–1588) in his own day seems to have been praised nearly as much for being a hydraulic engineer, a constructor of aqueducts, as for his designs of the hundreds of celebrated mosques and other buildings. In the *Tezkiretü'l Bünyan*, the major contemporary written work on Sinan's life and deeds, some five out of its fifteen pages describe his aqueducts, besides other passages describing a well and a waterwheel.² In this sense Sinan may in fact be likened to the renowned Roman father of classical architectural theory, Vitruvius, who had likewise been active as a hydraulic engineer perhaps more than as a designer

of buildings. The technical and architectural handling of water in other words can be seen to have a fundamental position in the general history of architectural culture. Sinan's ablution fountains may be considered as one prominent expression of this importance, presenting the role of water in architectural culture generally as well as specifically in Islamic religion.

In the first of the great sultan's mosques designed by Sinan, the Şehzade Mehmet Camii or the Mosque of Prince Mehmet, of 1543–8, the element of water had a significant position. The mosque complex has a direct visual connection to the urban water supply system, with the ancient Valens aqueduct running just at the northern edge of the precinct. Here, while arranging for water supply from the aqueduct to the mosque, Sinan also had the aqueduct itself lowered in its sequence next to the mosque, leading the water below ground, in order not to hide its view from the north.³ The panoramic views thus present the aqueduct and the mosque as two adjacent monumental constructions.

The solution for the şadırvan at the Şehzade seems to reflect some features of preceding Sultans' mosques in the city. Its position repeats some of the geometric qualities of the neighbouring mosque of Sultan Beyazıt II, built just over forty years earlier. Both have square arcaded courtyards where polygonal ablution fountains are centred. (While originally probably uncovered, in the early seventeenth century domes resting on eight columns were constructed over both şadırvans, as can still be seen.⁴) And in both mosques the şadırvans in this way may seem to reflect the centralised domed square spaces of the prayer halls. Sinan's mosque, however, makes this relationship more strongly felt (fig. 18.1). The şadırvan is dodecagonal with columnar shaped corners, reflecting the twelve columns framing the courtyard itself, and with a raised central bowl of water like an inverted miniature version of the dome. Also in other ways the courtyard and interior spaces of the Şehzade are more closely interrelated than in earlier mosques. Thus the open courtyard space corresponds in its dimensions to the interior area covered by the central dome. The şadırvan in its composition may seem to reflect this relation of dome to courtyard, also perhaps through the radially parabolic, umbrella-like squirts of water from the central bowl to the lower level. This mutual reflection between courtyard and interior gives a certain logic to the centrality of the domed interior space, which in itself has no literal reason as a frame for the prayer performed in *qibla* direction. At the same time it may emphasise the role of the ablution as a central part of the ritual, connected to the concepts of origins, birth and purity. In this way the şadırvan is given an importance even stronger than that of the earlier Beyazıt mosque.



Fig 18.1. Şehzade mosque, 1543–8, inner courtyard with şadırvan. The canopy was added in the early seventeenth century.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

It may for this reason be noted that the Şehzade şadırvan also reflects more literally than in any earlier case the major türbe belonging to the mosque. Like the şadırvan, the octagonal Şehzade Mehmet türbe is richly profiled with columnar shaped corners. They also share a two-coloured combination of stonework, with black inlays in the grey marble of the şadırvan, red decorative inlays in the türbe. The türbe in the garden side

of the mosque was placed with its opening on the central mihrab axis of the prayer hall, in this way also by its position reflecting the octagon of the şadırvan in the courtyard. And of course, in this case the role of the türbe must be considered as more central than in any earlier mosque, since the tragic death of the crown prince, Şehzade Mehmet, was the initiating fact of the project for the mosque itself. Therefore the minor scaled octagonal volumes of the türbe and the şadırvan, in a certain sense representing death and life, can jointly be seen as forming the key elements of the entire complex. In this respect it could be compared to the Fatih complex, where the türbe of the prince's important namesake Mehmet II was the initiating element. The position of the mosque, replacing the former Church of the Holy Apostles, was chosen because it was the traditional burial place for Byzantine emperors from Constantine onwards. The courtyard surrounding the fountain with its domed canopy being in this case planted – like later also in the Beyazit mosque – could be a sign of this mirroring of türbe with şadırvan, a connection made more orderly by Sinan in the Şehzade mosque.

The Şehzade Mehmet complex, however, contains yet another şadırvan, placed as the central object in the courtyard of the madrasa, located along the eastern wall of the outer courtyard of the mosque (fig. 18.2). Like the traditional mosque fountain it is a minor scale centralised structure with water taps around the core. It has an octagonal shape topped by a conical or rather pyramidal structure. In relation to the şadırvans of the mosques, it is both simplified and in a way monumentalised. Its vertically oriented geometric form has obvious similarities to the type of the türbe represented by a number of prominent Seldjuk tombs in central Anatolia. Well known, and very closely related in shape to the şadırvan of the Şehzade madrasa, is the thirteenth-century Döner Kümbet in Kayseri, the city of Sinan's own childhood. In the Şehzade complex some other seemingly deliberate connections to the same Seldjuk architectural tradition can also be seen, most obviously in the relief decorations of the minarets.

A slightly more abstract version of the same type of şadırvan can be seen in another madrasa, designed by Sinan a couple of years later. This was the Rüstem Paşa madrasa, where the surrounding courtyard itself is also octagonal. In other words the şadırvan in this case can be interpreted as being the generator of the entire plan of the complex. In these two şadırvans, both placed in madrasas or centres of learned culture, the relation of the fountain to the tomb was more literal, or figural, than in the mosques.



Fig 18.2. Şadırvan in the courtyard of the madrasa in the Şehzade complex, taking its shape from Seldjuk tombs.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

In the two versions of the şadırvan seen in Sinan's first major mosque, the symbolic and architectural importance of this element was seemingly established for future elaboration. This seems to be confirmed by one of his works from the same early years, the Mihrümah Sultan mosque in Üsküdar of 1547. Here the rather wide sixteen-sided şadırvan is on the one hand enclosed within the roofing system of the double portico of the mosque, on the other hand uniquely projecting out towards the public space of the



Fig 18.3. Mihrimah Sultan mosque in Üsküdar, 1547, with the şadırvan covered by an extension of the outer portico.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

harbour plaza (fig. 18.3). The outer portico is extended into a square shaped covering for the şadırvan, making this into a prominent outward gesture of the complex. This combination of enclosure and exposition was however never repeated.

One reason for this was that most of the smaller mosques in the following years were combined with U-shaped madrasas, so creating enclosed courtyards. The first example of this typology in Istanbul was the Sinan Paşa mosque in Beşiktaş of 1556. A decade earlier the architect had designed the nearby mausoleum of the pasha's legendary predecessor as a Grand Admiral, Hayreddin Barbaros. This mausoleum remained in a way the major monument of the site, on the qibla side of the mosque, facing the harbour. So while not containing its own funerary monument, since Sinan Paşa was instead buried at the Mihrimah mosque, his own mosque contained this connection already by its location. The choice of design for the şadırvan was in a way different from the ones so far mentioned. The transverse rectangular shape of the courtyard is reflected in a marble fountain of similar proportions, taking thus the shape of a classical sarcophagus (fig. 18.4). Its relief decoration with arches, frames and columnar shaped



Fig 18.4. Sinan Paşa mosque in Beşiktaş, 1556, with its şadırvan of the sarcophagus type.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

corners also contains stylised cypresses, the tree traditionally belonging to cemeteries.

The sarcophagus shape can in fact be seen also in some earlier examples, such as in Istanbul the small mosque of Karabaş Mustafa Ağa at Tophane, of the early sixteenth century. Here ensembles of tombs are found both in the small garden on the qibla side and in the front courtyard, so adjacent to the şadırvan.⁵ Among Sinan's mosques it occurs also in an unusual position in the late case of Şemsî Ahmet Paşa in Üsküdar, as well as in a fountain later added to the outer courtyard of the Şehzade mosque. Where it occurs in Sinan's mosques, as opposed to the earlier mosque at Tophane, the direction of the sarcophagus volumes are always transversal in relation to the qibla axis, and in this way correct according to the burial custom.

In any case the sarcophagus type of şadırvan seems to have been well established by the time of Sinan's plans for his major work in Istanbul, the mosque complex of the sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. Like in the case of Sinan Paşa the inner courtyard is here rectangular, creating a similar proportional relationship to the fountain. Besides possibly its geometry, however, the fountain shows no direct reference to the sarcophagus (fig. 18.5).

Also its function is different, as a decorative fountain, with no taps for ablutions and with water sprouting only inside, where the arched openings made it visible and reachable for drinking cups. For the ablutions Sinan instead arranged taps in the outer courtyard, in rows along the lower parts of the porticos on both the lateral sides of the prayer hall. This arrangement must have seemed logical from a functional point of view, with most visitors entering from the bazaar quarters to the south-east. By this arrangement



Fig 18.5. Inner courtyard of the Süleymaniye mosque, 1550–7, with its fountain providing water for drinking, but not for ablutions.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

the ablution space also became naturally roofed, through the overhanging eaves of the porticos. The solution was integrated in the roofing system of the mosque somewhat like in the case of the Mihrūmah. The solution in this sense was functional, although it did not give the place for ablutions the contemplative quality of the separate, centrally placed fountains.

The symbolic atmosphere, on the other hand, was strengthened in the inner courtyard, where the monumental quality, in addition to the fountain itself, was emphasised also through the framing by the four tall minarets placed by its outer corners. Through this arrangement also the centrality of the fountain was further emphasised, giving a strong focus on its design. The rectangular marble structure, rather than referring to a sarcophagus, has the character of a symbolic miniature building. In fact, as a rectangular shaped building without an entrance, placed in the centre of a likewise rectangular courtyard framed by minarets, a reference to the Kaaba comes to mind. A verse in the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan* makes this connection to the mosque itself: 'This mosque seemed like the Kaaba. Its four columns the four caliphs'.⁶ But the architectural resemblance likely to have informed the mind of Sinan is found rather in the symbolic şadırvan framed by the inner courtyard. And as the centre of the Islamic empire and the caliphate, now since one generation also comprising the holy places in the Middle East, such a reference would not seem far-fetched or exaggerated. In other words the fountain, instead of serving for the ablution, became the symbolic centre where the presence of water represented life, origins and the Qur'anic paradise.⁷

The presence of the water inside the structure is experienced visually through its openings, spouting from below to the ceiling and falling back into the basin. As Evliya Çelebi expressed it, 'the wonderful thing is this, that the water from the basin springs up as though shot from a bow (...) and then trickles down'.⁸ It can also be sensed audibly as well as through some cooling effect, so involving more or less all the senses. The dripping of water can also be seen as reflected in the *muqarnas*, or stalactite, ornaments crowning the columnar elements from which the spouting emanates. Architecturally the rectangular marble structure is basically simple, with pillars and lintels framing so-called Bursa arches. This type of arch, combining straight and curved profiles, was probably recognised as a genuinely Ottoman heritage.

In other words the Süleymaniye complex presented a clear separation of the functional aspect of the şadırvan from the symbolic, dealing with concepts of life and death, thus of paradise and divine order. While the rectangular, interiorised fountain in the inner courtyard seems to represent

all these aspects of holiness, the technical provision of water for ablution along the side porticos was an achievement displaying the innovative engineering skill of Sinan. The water was distributed from the aqueduct system below ground and floor levels in the first place to the courtyard fountain, and from this point branching off below the floor of the prayer hall to the external taps. However the distribution system also provided two taps for drinking water inside the prayer hall, placed by the northern main pillars supporting the dome.⁹ Through this arrangement not only the separation of the symbolic and functional aspect of the şadırvan was provided, but also the separation of water for ablution from that provided for drinking. In the previous sultans' mosques, for Mehmet II, Beyazıt II and Selim I, the water fountains had served both purposes.¹⁰

In these ways the provision of water in its various architectural and functional forms became a major aspect of the Süleymaniye mosque complex, integrated with all the major spaces. In the grand vizier mosque most closely related to the Süleymaniye, by its location and by the family relationship of the vizier to the sultan, that of Rüstem Paşa, the water distribution was more clearly separated from the prayer hall than in perhaps any other mosque. Since the mosque was raised above ground, over a floor of shops and storage spaces, water distribution was naturally confined to a lower level. Sinan solved this by making the şadırvan a separate structure beside and below the courtyard of the mosque. There an undecorated polygonal structure of unusually generous size was covered by a dodecagonal canopy with pointed arches on columns. The canopy was extended on four of its sides by minor domes to form a cross-shape plan. A rectangular wall frames this arrangement, uniquely appearing like a separate architectural composition beside and below the mosque. An exceptional autonomy of the şadırvan was thus formed both by its placing and by its architectural solution. One relevant fact may be that here there was no natural connection to the mausoleum, since Rüstem Paşa, for whom the mosque was completed posthumously under the direction of his wife Mihrümah, had his türbe placed by the Şehzade mosque. If this fact, as has been suggested, contributed to the unusually rich tile decoration of the mosque itself, making it into a kind of symbolic mausoleum, the separation of the functionally designed şadırvan from all such connotations must have been another decision resulting from the same condition.¹¹

The separation of the şadırvan from the mosque itself of Rüstem Paşa also meant that it could be given an unusually generous size. But not only that. A *sebil*, a public fountain for drinking water, was provided as a part of the wall on ground level, below the courtyard of the mosque. This combination,

with the water conducted through the mosque complex providing for both a şadırvan and a sebil, can be seen also in a number of other of Sinan's vizier mosques. In that of Rüstem Paşa's successor as the Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, constructed a decade later, sebils were also provided on the lower ground level, below that of the mosque itself. Here however, with the position of the mosque in a rather steep slope near the southern end of the Hippodrome, it was technically convenient to place the şadırvan in the courtyard. Like in Sinan Paşa's mosque the courtyard was framed by a U-shaped madrasa. The shape of the şadırvan does not suggest a connection to the mausoleum of the founder, however. Rather it may seem to relate to the *dershane*, the domed lecture hall of the madrasa (fig. 18.6). On entering the mosque by the remarkable sequence leading up the stairs from street level below the *dershane* up into the courtyard, the şadırvan takes on the role of the focal point, connecting the madrasa to the mosque and the exterior space below to the major domed covering of the prayer hall. The microcosmic dimension of the şadırvan, which could have been suggested also by some of the earlier examples conceived by Sinan, was here carried to fulfilment. Here the şadırvan and the canopy are joined to form a domed columnar structure in its own right. The fountain, perhaps for the first time, achieved a kind of archetypal clarity integrating its parts to form a structure of unity and autonomy. This unity includes also the eaves that seem to take on a key role, becoming an expressive part. However the şadırvan also coordinates with the other elements of the complex. Thus geometrically the exceptionally ten-sided arched structure of the şadırvan seems to relate to the hexagonal main domed canopy, in the sense that the qibla axis of the mihrab in both cases crosses between supports, while the transverse central axis crosses the supported angles. The polygonal plan of ten sides can of course also be read as a combination, or addition, of the hexagonal major canopy and the four-cornered square or cubic form of the *dershane*. It may be of some significance that the Sokollu Mehmet Paşa mosque was designed while Sinan's major commission was that of Sultan Selim II, his final great mosque, now taking shape in the former capital of Edirne.

In this mosque, the Selimiye, designed and built from 1568 to 1574, the centrality of the main dome is the predominant feature. All minor structures, including of course the şadırvan, are subordinate to this major domed octagon framed by four minarets. The polygonal şadırvan with sixteen sides may be seen, however, in a sequence following the square and octagon of the plan for the dome and minarets (fig. 18.7). The architecture of the şadırvan itself is conventional, a low marble structure with arched reliefs topped by grids with a raised bowl at its centre. It is without a dome,



Fig 18.6. Sokollu Mehmet Paşa mosque, 1571, with the madrasa framing the courtyard, its dersane or lecture room on the central axis with the şadırvan and hall for prayers, all domed.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

reflecting through its shape also the most important local predecessor, the Üç Serefeli mosque commissioned by Murat II in the 1430s. Also other similarities between the two complexes may be significant. In both cases the sultan's tombs were absent. While Murat II's tomb was placed in the former capital of Bursa, Selim II's mausoleum got its place in Istanbul, by the Hagia Sofia. Without burial gardens, in both mosques instead the courtyards with şadırvans seemed to take on the role of gardens. This was achieved, however, not through planting but by four modest open channels leading from the şadırvans to the corners of the courtyard. This arrangement symbolised the garden of paradise, in its well-established Qur'anic version with four rivers emanating from the centre. At the same time these symbolic rivers by running diagonally from the centre, as opposed to the angular version normally presented in gardens, seemed to fix the proportions of the transversely rectangular courtyards.

Considering the innovative spirit reflected in Sinan's earlier şadırvans, the modesty of the structure itself in this major masterpiece is remarkable. However, while this modesty supports the predominance of the major domed structure, there is also a specific connection to the central point in



Fig 18.7. Selimiye mosque in Edirne, 1568–74, inner courtyard with open şadırvan and four diagonal channels for water outflow.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

the prayer hall. Below the apex of the dome is the square muezzin's *mahfil*, or platform. This is yet another modest structure seeming to balance the centrality of the space itself, where the functional centre is always external, that of holy Mecca. Below the platform, where the low horizontal space may remind of the archetypal hypostyle mosque – in a sense the architectural, spatial counterpoint of the Selimiye – there is at the centre a small drinking fountain. This element introduced in both the courtyard and the interior of the Süleymaniye mosque was thus here developed into a centrally placed major feature, formed by a circular basin, like an inverted miniature dome. In fact it specifically seems to reflect the dome of the Selimiye itself, the largest dome ever designed by Sinan, by its eight circular protrusions for water cups reflecting the supporting system of the grand canopy. The urban, or rather imperial, scale of the dome is balanced by its miniature version in the intimacy of the drinking fountain, forming a micro-cosmos and involving all the five senses. In this way the drinking fountain seems to represent both the modesty and the monumentality of Selimiye's architecture, while giving the element of a fountain literally a central position not seen in any earlier mosque. In addition, ablution taps were also, like in the Süleymaniye, placed

along the lateral sides below the external porticos. Thus the three versions of the fountain were integrated with all the major spaces of the mosque complex, making the relation of şadırvan to the overall architectural composition in a way more complete than in any of the earlier cases.

With this in mind, some of the late mosques by Sinan also deserve to be explored from the point of view of the arrangements of the şadırvan. One of these, the mosque complex of admiral Kılıç Ali Paşa of 1578–82, also has a variety of fountains. Besides the various versions of the şadırvan and sebil, the element of water is also present in the hamam, which has a strong position close to the mosque itself. The importance of water in relation to the grand admiral's mosques, like in that of Sinan Paşa, was thus expressed not only by their harbour locations, but also through the distribution of water to numerous functions including the şadırvans. In the case of Kılıç Ali Paşa the intense presence of water for ablutions took the shape of a domed structure in the narrow courtyard, but also by a line of water taps along the interior side of its northern portico (fig. 18.8). The overhanging eaves covering the double portico of the mosque, in addition to both versions of the şadırvan, became a dominant theme, a little like in the much earlier Mihrimah mosque across the Bosphorus.



Fig 18.8. Kılıç Ali Paşa mosque, 1578–82, its courtyard combining the domed şadırvan with water taps along the back wall.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.



Fig 18.9. Mesih Mehmet Paşa mosque, 1585, its courtyard with taps for ablution along the back wall, while the central polygonal structure instead of the traditional şadırvan contains the founder's tomb.

Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

The position of water taps for ablution along the wall in the northern portico of the courtyard was repeated by Sinan a few years later, in 1585, at the mosque of Mesih Mehmet Paşa in the Yenibahçe district. Again, while the courtyard was not framed by a madrasa, the mosque had a double front portico. In this much smaller mosque and complex, compared to that of Kılıç Ali Paşa, this solution for the ablutions seemed to provide all the quantity needed, so that the centre of the courtyard could be left without a şadırvan. Instead the courtyard also functioned as a cemetery. Here the tomb of the founder was naturally placed at the centre, so taking in fact the traditional position of the şadırvan (fig. 18.9). But not only the position but also the shape, an octagonal structure covered by a domed canopy, was that of a şadırvan. So while in a number of examples the şadırvans were given the shapes of funerary monuments, here in one of his last works Sinan seemed to invert the concept, giving the tomb or mausoleum the position and design of a şadırvan.

One reason for the placing of the funerary garden at the front of the mosque, instead of as usual at the back, was because of the conditions of the

site. It makes a rather steep slope to the south-east, so that this side is on a level much below the floor of the mosque, in other words not suitable for the funerary garden. Instead this corner of the complex, like in the Sokollu Mehmet Paşa complex, became the natural place of a sebil, providing water for the surrounding quarter.

The terracing of sloping ground was a condition for many of Sinan's mosque complexes, not least for the Süleymaniye. And here as well Sinan in his later days provided a water dispenser or sebil below the level of the mosque, in this case by the northern side. Its position seemed strategic, at the sharp end of the neighbouring block, facing the row of bazaar shops below the garden terrace of the mosque, but also a connecting point with views to the Topkapı Palace as well as to the Mehmet Fatih mosque complex. The water-dispenser was designed by Sinan in 1587, so not at the time of the project for the mosque, but several years later when he realised that his long life was ending. It became a part of his own tomb complex, so connected as much to the architect himself as to his major commissioner, sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (fig. 18.10).



Fig 18.10. The water-dispenser, 1587, by Sinan's tomb below the terrace of the Süleymaniye complex, and with a distant view towards the Topkapı palace.
Photograph: Johan Mårtelius.

Thus, the close connection of the concept of the tomb to that of the fountain, whether in the form of a dispenser, a sebil or a şadırvan, seemed to indicate a fundamental relationship. The underlying theme was undoubtedly that of transformation of the body into life-giving water. The tomb and the şadırvan were both major components of the mosque complexes, however on a modest scale compared to the prayer halls and other functional spaces. Their designs, as a sign of their importance, were often rich in details and using best quality marbles. As architectural components in the mosque complexes designed by Sinan, the şadırvans were reminders of paradise, conceived as veritable jewels. In the *Tezkiretül Bünyan*, the contemporary comment on Sinan's works, a verse with Qur'anic reference is included in the section on his hydraulic works: 'So plants are brought to life by water, and every living thing fashioned from water.'¹²

Notes

1 Qur'an, tr. Sale 1883: 76.

2 Çelebi 2002: 29–99.

3 Necipoğlu 2005: 196.

4 Çelebi 1834: 70, 82.

5 Some minor mosques in Anatolia also present this typology for the şadırvan.

6 Çelebi 2002: 98.

7 Mårtelius 2015.

8 Çelebi 1834: 77.

9 Çeçen 1986.

10 Goodwin 1971: 172.

11 Necipoğlu 2005: 327.

12 Çelebi 2002: 78.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>

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Plate 1. Breccia basin standing in the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia.
Photograph: Paul Stephenson.



Plate 2. The Kazlı Çeşme, Istanbul, dated by its inscription to 1537, incorporates a tenth- or eleventh-century marble relief of a goose.
Photograph: Henry Maguire.



Plate 3. Mosaic of the Annunciation to St Anne, Daphni, Greece.

Photograph: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library (with permission).



Plate 4. Mosaic of the Annunciation to St Anne, Kariye Camii (Chora), Istanbul.
Photograph: The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records.

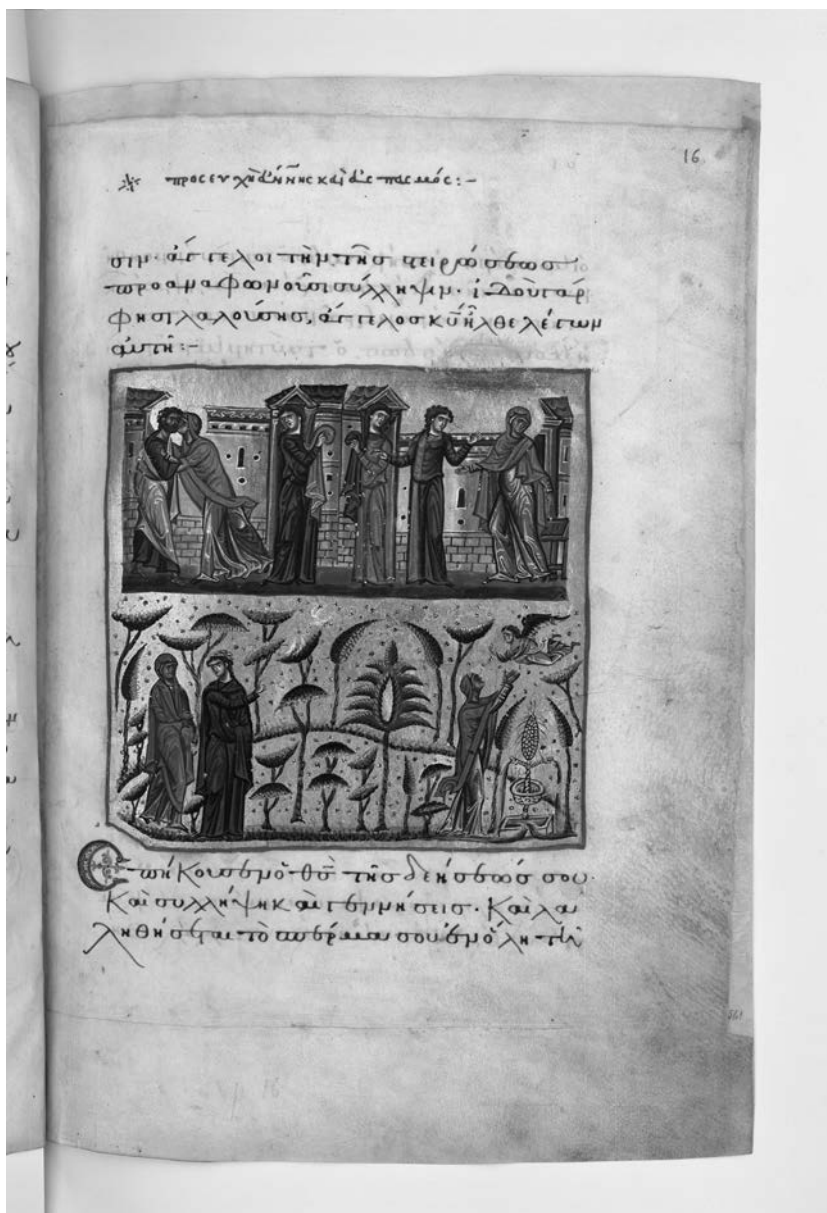


Plate 5. Manuscript containing homilies of James, monk of Kokkinobaphos, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 16v., Constantinople, 12th century.
 Photograph: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (with permission).



Plate 6. Bronze strobilion, Great Lavra, Mount Athos.
Photograph: Charalambos Bouras (with permission).



Plate 7. The fountain in the crypt at St Demetrios at Thessaloniki.
Photograph: Jesper Blid Kullberg.



Plate 8. Ayia Napa on Cyprus, lion-headed water spout with channel, probably from the sixth-century Church of St Polyeuktos at Saraçhane in Istanbul.

Photograph: Tassos Papacostas.



Plate 9. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums, marble relief from St George of the Mangana. The Virgin as a fountain.

Photograph: Paul Stephenson.



Plate 10. Stobi, Baptistery, floor mosaic.

Photograph: Brooke Shilling.



Plate 11. Leiden University Library, Codex Lugdunensis Scaligeranus 55, fol. 62r. An early sixteenth-century manuscript transmitting the one existent version of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* and two of the six versions of *Libistros and Rhodamne*, which has the only miniature illuminating the vernacular romances.
 Photograph, Leiden University Library (with permission).

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